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Peres Says No to Palestinian List

Israeli Prime Minister Shimon Peres and Foreign Minister Yitzhak Shamir have flatly rejected the list of Palestinians who will participate in the joint Jordanian-Palestinian delegation for talks with the US. The list was transmitted to the Israeli government July 17 by US embassy officials in Tel Aviv. By press time none of the names on the list had been confirmed by Jordan or the PLO, but *Al Fajr* has learned that the list consists of seven Palestinians, of whom two are from the occupied territories. The list includes former head of the Gaza Lawyers Union Fayez Abu Rahmeh, *Al Fajr* Editor-in-chief Hanna Siniora, head of the Palestine National Councils' Foreign Affairs Department Khaled al-Hassan, Cairo-based publisher and adviser to Arafat Nabil Sha'ath, former Ansar detainee and Fatah co-founder Saleh Ta'amari, former head of the PLO's Washington office Dr Hatem Husseini and PNC Secretary Mohammed Sbeih.

Al Fajr has learned that the selection of delegates from the occupied territories was initiated locally. A group of PLO supporters in the area drew up a list of 20 candidates from six locations in the West Bank and Gaza according to priority ranking. These 20 were given the choice to accept or decline the nomination. If a candidate declined, the second in line for that locality was approached. Palestinians from the occupied territories then narrowed the list down to five — four from the West Bank and one from the Gaza Strip. At that point, the list was forwarded to the PLO which apparently chose two out of the five. The other three on the list included Tulkarm mayor Hilmi Hanoun, Ramallah businessman Izz ed-Din Arian, and the deposed acting mayor of Hebron, Mustafa Natshe.

According to the Hebrew press, the Israelis received the list of names July 17 shortly after the US had gotten it. The Hebrew daily *HaAretz* reported that Jordanian Prime Minister Zeid al-Rifai sent the list to US Secretary of State George Shultz. But Shultz was in Australia and his deputy Richard Murphy was away from Washington on vacation. Shultz gave the go-ahead to send the list to Israel before he examined it closely.

This step was apparently taken in a cooperative spirit, not for official approval. The Americans have insisted on numerous occasions that they are not allowing Israel to veto any of the names. Peres said on Israel TV

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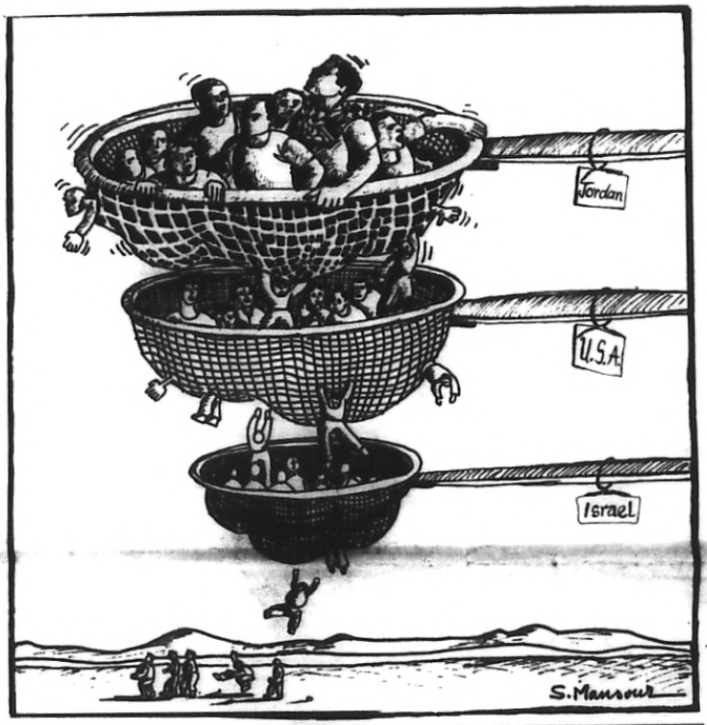

Local Women Protest Travel Ban to UN Conference

Three of the Palestinian women who were barred from attending the UN conference on women in Nairobi which opened July 10 held a press conference at the American Colony Hotel in East Jerusalem July 12 and urged Nairobi participants to condemn "Israeli's restriction of our rights to freedom of expression and movement."

A total of 10 Palestinian women from the occupied territories who were officially invited to attend the conference were barred from leaving the country in one way or another by the Israeli authorities. The 10 are:

* Samiha Khalil, head of the al-Bireh based *In'ash al-Usra* (Family Rehabilitation) Society. Her application for a *laissez passer* was turned down.
* Zahira Kamal, teacher and Secretary of the Women's Work Committee. She has been under town arrest in Jerusalem for the past five years.
* Siham Barghouti, an ex-prisoner and activist in the Women's Work Committee. Her application for a laissez passer was turned down.
* Rabiha Dyab, activist in the Women's Committee for Social Work and ex-prisoner, has been forbidden to leave the country since her release from prison last October.
* Fatmi al-Kurdi, activist in the Women's Committee for Social Work and teach er, got as far as the bridge to Jordan where the Israelis turned her back.
* Amal Wahdan, member of the Abu Dis Public Institutions Workers Union, was refused a *laissez passer*.
* Na'ema Helou, from Gaza. Her application for a *laissez passer* was turned down.
* Fatmeh Jibril, resident of Qalandya refugee camp and activist in the Women's Committee for Social Work. Her application for a *laissez passer* was turned down.
* Amal Khreisheh, head of the Union of Working Women's Committees, was refused a *laissez passer*.
* Hanan Banura, member of the Union of Working Women's Committees and nurse at Maqassed hospital, was refused a *laissez passer*.

At the press conference Rabiha Dyab, Amal Wahdan and Zahira Kamal told journalists travel restrictions are "only one more link in a long chain of oppressive measures by the Israeli authorities to deny Palestinians basic freedom of expression,

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Bad Conditions Trigger Hunger Strikes in 3 Prisons

Seventy Arab detainees in the Fara'a detention centre near Nablus went on a hunger strike for 24 hours July 13 to protest deteriorating conditions in the prison. The detainees spelled out their demands in a letter which they handed to prison authorities the same day. They stressed the immediate need to improve the quality of prison food, to increase daily meal rations, and to allow two exercise periods a day instead of one. They also demanded daily newspapers and radios. The detainees emphasised their repeated demand that brutality on the part of prison guards be stopped.

Advocate Felicia Langer, who represents some of the Fara'a detainees, visited the detention centre July 17. She confirmed to *Al Fajr* that conditions at the lock-up have worsened recently. Her clients told her detainees are only allowed access to the bathroom three times a day — in the morning, at noon, and in the evening.

The hunger strike was halted to give a officials the chance to fulfill these promises, but detainees are determined to resume the strike if their demands are not met.

In a related story, the Arabic daily *Al Ittihad* reported last week that Palestinians interned in the Hebron prison went on strike in support of detainees at Jneid prison in Nablus who reportedly went on hunger strike two weeks ago to protest brutal treatment from their guards.

The Union of Working Women's Committees in the occupied territories issued a statement July 16 supporting the prisoners' demands.

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Palestinians Win Ground at Nairobi

News Analysis
by Baher al-Ashhab

Israeli women appear to have lost ground in Nairobi during the first week of the UN Conference on Women, despite rigorous preparation by 250 delegates and the fact that the Israeli government barred 10 local Palestinian women from attending. They also encountered hostility at the Non-Governmental Forum (NGO) that ended July 19.

The Israeli delegation suffered a major setback when the American, Canadian and Western European delegations reversed previous stands and declared in official speeches at the governmental forum July 16 they do not object to discussing the situation in the Middle East at the conference. These countries had indicated during two preparatory conferences at Geneva and New York that politics had no place at a conference on women.

Allowing discussion of the situation in the Middle East would enable distribution of several UN and Palestinian papers which find Israel responsible for the lack of progress in the status and conditions of Palestinian women. It would mean discussing these findings and perhaps drafting a resolution that would offer moral and financial support to these women and publicly reprimand the Israeli government for its role in the occupied territories.

The US and Western countries' change of attitude must be attributed to active lobbying by the Palestinian delegation durign the NGO. They managed to gather support from Third World and Eastern bloc countries and to impress Western delegations. Maureen Reagan, head of the US delegation, noted in her official speech that the US "recognises that many delegations feel very strongly about discussing the situation in the Middle East and its effect on women. We are prepared to work constructively with those delegations." She also told the assembly that the US "has never, and does not now, object to the discussion of the situation of Palestinian women at the conference." Canadian delegation head Walter Mclean said that "local and regional conditions can so dominate women's lives that it would be unthinkable not to address them at this meeting."

The change of attitude could also be seen as a good-will gesture to Palestinian and Arab policy makers who are watching US efforts to alter the deadlock in the Middle East, moves which may include an unprecedented meeting between US officials and a joint Palestinian-Jordanian delegation within the next few weeks. In another possible good-will gesture, US President Ronald Reagan approved an additional contribution of US$8 million to this year's UNRWA budget July 12.

Palestinian women had feared that the US would stand firmly by Israel in Nairobi. During previous conferences at Mexico City in 1975 and Copenhagen in 1980, world delegations adopted several resolutions supporting Palestinian women and condemning Israel's occupation policy, including one that equated Zionism with racism and apartheid at the Mexico conference. The US, Israel and Canada opposed these resolutions and depicted the conference as if it was directed by and irrational anti-democratic forces. They also alleged that the Palestinian issue had no place in a conference dedicated to discussing women's issues. By approving discussion of the issue at Nairobi, they gave legitimicy to previous conferences and their resolutions.

As for the Israeli delegation, they were reportedly in disarray even prior to Maureen Reagan's announcement. Although they had expected tough resistance from Palestinian women, they were very surprised by the support for Palestinian women at the conference. An israeli delegate told reporters a few days before the conference that her delegation "will not be caught unprepared," and that "even if the US delegation walks out of the conference, we will continue to fight." She added that since "the PLO is no longer flourishing and there is no Arab oil pressure," most world delegations would shy away from supporting the Palestinians. A few days into the Nairobi conference, the same delegate told reporters: "We were not prepared for such an assault."

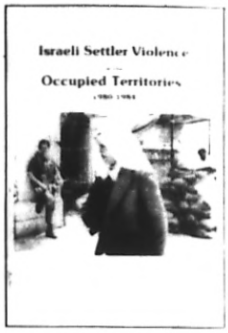
The Israelis were evidently unprepared for the effective lobbying by Palestinian women who arrived armed with documents, research material and visual presentations that spoke of collective punishments, frequent arrests, military and settler violence, economic exloitation and other hardships in the occupied territories. World delegations were reported to crowd workshops and seminars that discussed the Palestinian issue and to cheer the Palestinians or hush the Israelis, who tried to argue that the condition of Palestinian women in the occupied territories is better than that of women in other Middle Eastern countries. The Israelis seemed to be jeered the most when on a few occasions they alleged that the nature of Arab culture was responsible for the misery Palestinian women live in and that any advancement is directly related to Israeli "administration" of the occupied territories.

What the Israeli delegation did not expect was that several unofficial Israeli and American Jewish delegates would refuse to support such arguments and would instead side with the Palestinians. One American Jewish delegate was quoted as comparing Zionism with Nazism.

The Israeli government's decision to bar 10 Palestinians from attending the conference made the predicament of Israeli delegates even worse. They were questioned about it throughout the NGO forum. Their unpreparedness for the queries was most obvious in one workshop when an Israeli delegate replied to one such question by claiming that one of the Palestinian women had once hijacked a plane. MK Sara Doron who heads the Israeli delegation told Israeli reporters a few days into the forum that her delegation was forced to go on the defensive and "instead of denying Arab accusations, were apologising for Israeli actions."

Jerusalem Forum Discusses Israeli Settler Violence

Violence perpetrated by Jewish settlers in the occupied territories was the focus of a forum held in the Orient House hotel in East Jerusalem July 15. Three Palestinians and three Israelis dicussed a report recently released in English by the Chicago-based Palestine Human Rights Campaign. The report, written by Jerusalem resident Jan Abu Shakrah, surveyed and analysed violent settler activities in the West Bank, Gaza and the Golan Heights over the last five years. The forum, which turned into a heated exchange of opinions between the six panelists and the over one hundred members of the audience was sponsored by the author and the Arab Society in Jerusalem which published an Arabic version of the study. One panelist, Israeli journalist Yehuda Litani, created some controversy when he suggested that the sponsors should have invited a representative of the settler organisations to respond to the author's findings. Hebrew University professor Yoroel Brokashio suggested that the study is biased in that it did not survey Arab violence against settlers which he claimed to be one of the motives behind settler violence.



Other panelists were Faisal Husseini, director of the Arab Studies Society, Ramallah advocate Raja Shehadeh, Bir Zeit University professor Salim Tamari and Israeli philosopher Yeshayahu Leibowitz.

The common theme of the panelists' prepared comments was that although settler violence is a worthy issue for research, it is the concept of military occupation that has to be addressed. Professor Leibowitz suggested that settler violence is an integral part of occupation and that it would not cease until the occupation is terminated. He blasted the Israeli government for permitting the military occupation to continue. He added that settler violence is threatening Israeli society itself since "the moral standards in Israel have declined to the point where a large percentage of the Israeli population is either indifferent to or supportive of settler atrocities."

Tamari said that in comparison to other areas in the world dominated by colonialist regimes, residents of the occupied territories show great passivity and restraint. Resistance has mainly been confined to stone-throwing rather than "widespread revolutionary resistance," Tamari pointed out.

Shehadeh said that it is not satisfactory to restrict the definition of violence in the occupied territories to settler violence alone. Israeli government measures including land confiscation, house demolitions and collective punishment are all forms of violence and have to be addressed, he said. He noted that Israeli alterations of Jordanian laws in force in the area are also a form of violence in that they permit the occupation authorities to perpetrate atrocities against Arab residents under the cover of the law.

In response to suggestions from panelists and members of the audience, Faisal Husseini promised that the Arab Studies Society will translate and publish a Hebrew version of the book to be distributed inside the 'green line' so that Israelis can get a clear picture of what their fellow citizens are perpetrating in the occupied territories.

Chicago Mayor Visits Area

Chicago mayor Harold Washington paid a visit to Israel and the West Bank last week in an apparent attempt to improve strained relations between the Jewish and black communities in the US.

The five-day visit, sponsored by the Chicago Jewish Federation, included meetings with Israeli officials and a number of Palestinians. Washington met the mayors of Tel Aviv and Jerusalem, as well as Israeli Prime Minister Shimon Peres and other Israeli officials. Washington's sponsors also gave him a VIP ticket to the twelfth Maccabi games (an annual athletic olympics for Jews from all over the world).

Chicago's first black mayor also met with Beit Jala mayor Farah al-Arraj, Bethlehem mayor Elias Freij and Jerusalem engineer Ibrahim Dakkak, head of the West Bank Engineers Union. In an exclusive interview with *Al Fajr*, Washington said that he supports the rights of all people to self-determination and that he opposes discrimination against blacks in the US, blacks in Africa and Arabs in Palestine.

Washington said that he opposes US president Reagan's policies in general and his defence budget, which tops US$300 billion, in particular. "I favour spending money on human concerns like health and education rather than weapons," he said. Washington declined to specify his position on the Palestinian problem saying that he is "a mayor and not a president or foreign minister." He added, "In general I am progressive — a civil libertarian and a defender of human rights everywhere." Washington rejected the suggestion that Israel influenced him on his visit. "I am independent and I came to learn and decide for myself. Nobody can buy me," he told *Al Fajr*.

Washington left Jerusalem July 17 for a visit to Italy were he is expected to meet the Pope.

DESPITE PHALANGE OBJECTIONS

Palestinians Rebuild Beirut Camps

Rubble clearing and reconstruction work persisted in Sabra, Shatila, and Burj al-Barajneh refugee camps in the Beirut area last week despite staunch objections from the Phalangist-controlled Beirut municipal council. Elsewhere, a number of soldiers in the Israeli-backed South Lebanon Army (SLA) were killed July 16 in a suicide car attack on one of their positions in south Lebanon.

The reconstruction controversy erupted after the Beirut municipal council tried to obstruct the rebuilding work in the camps, under the pretext that "no political decision was taken to rebuild the camps," which were destroyed during the Amal incursion last month. The municipal council announced that they were planning to build roads and public gardens on the camp sites. Palestinians fear the measure will mean mass deportations of Palestinians. The Palestinian National Salvation Front, the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine, and Fatah have rejected the municipal council's decisions.

Elsewhere in Lebanon, a suicide car bomber, a Lebanese named Hisham Abbas, 23, from the National Lebanese Arab Ba'ath Party, which is part of the Lebanese Democratic Front, blew up his car July 16 at an SLA checkpoint near the village of Tibnit in the Israeli-designated 'Security Zone' in south Lebanon. The explosion resulted in 10 deaths, including two SLA troops. Several other SLA soldiers were wounded.

After Crossing the Bridge

Uniformed Thieves Steal $350,000 from Nablus Moneychanger

A well-planned robbery of US$360,000 from local residents returning from Jordan via the Damya Bridge has sparked fears among local residents and suspicion that Israeli bridge authorities collaborated in the robbery. The incident was one among a rash of robberies, apparently sparked by the difficult economic conditions, in the occupied territories.

Hussein Swidan, a Nablus moneychanger, passed through Israeli passport control at the bridge, where he told customs officials that he was bringing US$350,000 into the country. He then got into a taxi bound for Nablus with several other passengers.

Around 200 metres after the last military checkpoint, which is only a two or three minute drive from the border post, the taxi encountered a road block manned by three armed men in Israeli military uniform. The 'soldiers' stopped the Nablus-licenced Mercedes taxi and demanded in Hebrew to search for hashish. Swidan tried to explain to them that he was carrying US$350,000 which he had declared to Israeli officials at the bridge. But the 'soldiers' immediately dragged the driver out of the taxi. One of the 'soldiers' sat in his place and drove the car 20 metres across a ditch at the side of the road to an orange grove, while the passengers were bound and thrown on their faces to the ground. Swidan stubbornly refused to relinquish the money bag, at which point the robbers tried to shoot him. They were apparently scared off from doing so by one of the passengers, a woman, who started to shout at them. But they did get the bag away from Swidan. They also stole JD4000 (US$10,000) from another passenger before they fled away. The empty money bag was later found near the robbery site.

Swidan was the first to break free of his bonds. He ran 200 metres back down the road to the military checkpoint that the taxi had earlier passed through. He explained what had happened to the soldier on guard and asked him to radio for help to stop the burglars. The soldier indifferently replied that the radio was out of order.

The driver of the taxi, meanwhile, also freed himself and immediately drove back to the bridge where he told the Israeli Commander on duty all details of the incident. The authorities then began an inquiry to find out which bridge officials had dealt with Swidan and knew about the money.

Swidan was summoned to police headquarters in Nablus the next day to give police all the details of the robbery.

Hassan Swidan, father of the robbery victim, told *Al Fajr* that taxi drivers had seen the three uniformed men with a white civilian car at the robbery site all morning.

The number of robberies in the occupied territories has sharply increased in recent months, apparently due to the severe economic situation. Several other major robberies took place in the West Bank last week. Unidentified persons broke into the home of Hebron unionist Mohammed Arafat az-Zeer on the night of July 14. Zeer, treasurer of the Hebron Drivers Union, was not home at the time. The robbers made off with JD3000 (US$7500) and jewellery worth US$1250.

In al-Bireh, robbers broke into the home of Dr Najib Ahmad Thalji July 16 and stole jewellery and cash worth US$2500. Neighbours said they saw two people leave the house and drive off in a car with an Israeli licence plate.

In Bethlehem, burglars broke into a clinic belonging to Dr Jamal Salsa, a general practitioner, July 15. A radio and a recorder were stolen and the place was left a mess.

Vandals Cut Down 150 Grape Vines

Saboteurs cut down an estimated 150 fruit bearing grape vines in the village of Beit Ijza north of Jerusalem July 10. The vines which belong to Id Mustafa Salam, 70, were located alongside the main street, 500 metres from an Israeli settlement called Tel Hadasha.

The sabotage was discovered by Id's grandson, Mousa, the next morning. Sources in the village said the saboteurs had used chain saws to chop down the 25-year old vines that were heavily laden with unripe grapes. Agricultural experts from the Ramallah Agriculture Department examined the damage.

Village residents believe that Jewish settlers are responsible for the sabotage. Salem is well-respected in the village (population 400), and does not have any enemies. According to villagers the fact that an oak tree at an intersecion in the neighbouring village of Biddu was chopped down the same night is a further indication that settlers were behind the sabotage.

A similar incident took place on June 20 in the village of Beit Iksa, where nearly 150 plum and fig trees were cut down. There were no reports of any arrests in connection with that incident. Villagers remain convinced that Jewish settlers were responsible, and the police concur in this opinion. The motive is apparently revenge.

Settlers have recently claimed that their trees were chopped down in a similar attack.

Israeli soldiers still in control of bus station/AO photo.

DESPITE OUT-OF-COURT SETTLEMENT

Army Fails to Evacuate Hebron Bus Station

The case of the Hebron central bus station is still unresolved as Israeli soldiers did not evacuate the station July 17 to comply with an out-of-court settlement suggested by the Israeli High Court in Jerusalem. Israeli settlers took over the Arab-owned bus station in 1983 after a Jewish settler was stabbed to death nearby. The army now controls the station. Jewish settlers in Hebron claim the bus station poses a security risk to a nearby yeshiva, which was established on the premises of the Arab Usama Ben Munqeth school that was seized by settlers in 1981.

During litigation, the High Court proposed to the lawyer for the Arab bus company, Arnold Spaer, that the army evacuate the station July 17, which would have settled the case out-of-court.

Mustafa Natsheh, the deposed deputy mayor of Hebron, told *Al Fajr* that "the Israelis only gave us a verbal promise, not a written commitment."

Natsheh recalled the history of the case in which he, as deputy mayor, was involved. He said that Gush Emunim settlers held a two-week sit-in strike in front of the bus station in 1983. "Moshe Arens, the former Israeli defence minister, reacted to the settlers' strike by closing the bus station for 30 days," he said. In response to the closure, the Hebron municipality and the Arab-owned Hebron national bus company filed a complaint against the army in the Israeli High Court demanding the bus station be returned to its owners. Late in June of 1983, the Israeli authorities removed the barbed wire around the station and permitted the buses to return.

After the Hebron municipal council was dismissed on July 7, 1983, the Israeli military governor of Hebron again closed the bus station. The Israeli-appointed mayor, Zamir Shemesh, withdrew the municipality's legal complaint. The bus company then filed another complaint with the court.

Ra'ef Ebeidu, vice chairman of the bus company, told *Al Fajr*: "If this out-of-court settlement goes through, it will only last two years, at which point the case would have to go back to court."

Ebeidi recalled how the Israelis had ordered the bus company to use a square near the Ibrahimi mosque as a central station in September of 1983. Six months later they ordered the company to move once again to a new station which was built on confiscated Arab land on the outskirts of Hebron. At the time, the company managers met and decided not to use the new station because it was far from the town centre. They insisted that the old bus station be returned.

Last month, a committee from the High Court visited the new station site and found it an unsuitable alternative for the old bus station. Legal sources told *Al Fajr* the army apparently settled out-of-court because the High Court seemed to be leaning towards deciding in the Arab bus company's favour.

Israel Prepares for Hospice Closure

An Israeli delegation from the Ministry of Health and the Histadrut Labour Federation visited Hospice Hospital in the Old City of Jerusalem July 15 to prepare for its final closure, scheduled for July 31. They were met by a crowd of angry patients and residents who organised a sit-in outside the building to express opposition to the closure.

The Israeli delegation drew up a list of the 62 hospital employees and met with each one to discuss possibilities for future employment. Sources at the hospital told *Al Fajr* that there are complaints about the options being offered to Hospice personnel, but no further details were available.

Hospital directors, unionists and the Hospice Friends' Committee held a closed meeting in the Professional Unions complex in Beit Hanina July 18 to discuss ways to confront the closure measure. The meeting, which began at 10:00 am, was still in progress at press time.

The Israeli decision to close Hospice, the only Arab government hospital in Jerusalem, was widely opposed by Arab Jerusalemites. Poor and underprivileged residents, who benefit the most from the hospital, were particularly angered. Many Old City residents who have no health insurance will now have no choice but to pay steep fees in Israeli hospitals.

Rahamim Israeli displays bruises on his arm which he sustained from beatings by Israeli policemen.

Israeli Photographer Experiences Police Brutality

The brutal beating of an Israeli press photographer by Tel Aviv policemen July 11 has triggered a major public uproar in Israel. The incident has divided the police force, which is reportedly conducting an inquiry into the incident. The Police Minister, on the other hand, is under severe public pressure to investigate mounting police brutality in general.

A plainclothed Tel Aviv police officer, identified as former American Gil Kleiman, attacked veteran photographer Rahamim Israeli while he was observing a police sapper check a suspicious object in a Tel Aviv suburb. Kleiman beat Israeli brutally and took him to Abu Kabir prison where he remained for 12 hours. According to Israeli, he was attacked as soon as he identified himself as a photographer. Upon his release Israeli filed a complaint against the Tel Aviv police department saying that he was repeatedly beaten and psychologically abused by Kleiman and other police officers during confinement. He was later treated for bruises and possible fractures in the arms, legs and chest.

The Israeli Journalists Association, *The Jerusalem Post*, and other newspapers for which Israeli works have demanded that the government investigate the incident as well as police brutality in general, and make sure that such incidents do not recur. Several Jerusalem police officers, who know Israeli personally, have threatened to quit the force unless Kleiman and the other officers who assaulted Israeli are dismissed. Kleiman's colleagues have threatened to walk off the job if he is suspended or fired. Israeli Police Minister Haim Bar-Lev is reportedly furious over the incident and has promised to punish the responsible officers.

Several Israeli Knesset members and politicians demanded reforms in police departments. They called for appointing civilians to the boards that select policemen and for stringent psychological screening of applicants wishing to join the police force.

An Israeli comptroller's report last year blasted Israeli police, saying that brutal beatings are often an integral part of routine arrest and interrogation procedures. The report said that beatings occur with the knowledge of high-ranking police officers and that in 1984 only three percent of those arrested and interrogated were actually charged with criminal offences.

Disciplinary action for police who use violence against detainees is relatively mild. A policeman who last month dragged an Arab man by his hair and ears for a distance of 150 metres in East Jerusalem, tearing his earlobes and bruising his body, received a one-month suspended sentence and a US$30 fine. Another policeman who aided his colleague in the action recieved a 10 day suspended sentence and US$15 fine. The Arab, who had come to visit a relative in prison, was not compensated.

At Abu Kabir prison Rahamim Israeli was locked up with two Arabs. Apalled by his condition, they asked him: "If this can happen to a Jew, then what will they do to us Arabs?"

At Shafa Amr Rally

Arab Councils Threaten to Strike

Palestinians inside the 'green line' will resort to strikes, widespread demonstrations and other protest measures unless the Israeli government does away with several discriminatory measures that are meant to disown them of their land and encourage them to emigrate.

This was the message at a rally in Shafa Amr July 13, in which six Arab members of Knesset and representatives of most Arab municipalities and local councils inside the 'green line' vowed to step up their pressure on the Israeli government until their demands are met. They are particularly disturbed by high property taxes, low budgets given to Arab municipalities and local councils and the planned demolition of over 7000 houses built without permits. The participants requested the Regional Committee of Arab local councils to report progress or failure to them on July 27 after which they will take appropriate measures that may include a general strike if negotiations prove fruitless.

Head of the regional committee Ibrahim Nimr Hussein, who is also the mayor of Shafa Amr, told *Al Fajr* that Palestinians inside the 'green line' "are up to their elbows in financial strain because of government persistence to tax them heavily and are extremely weary of discrimination." The time is ripe for them to act, explained Hussein. He said that they are now better organised and united in the face of increasing government discrimination.

Ibrahim Nimr Hussein

The 2.5 percent annual property tax levied on Arab land, was the focus of protest during the Shafa Amr rally. The tax is calculated per dunum according to government estimates of the land value which, Hussein says, amount to 300 percent of its real cash value. Most Arab landowners inherited the land from their forefathers and have resisted frequent offers from Israeli government and real estate companies to sell their lands. The state tax rates are seen by many as a way to pressure them into selling, Hussein told *Al Fajr*. Land belonging to Israeli Jews, on the other hand, is taxed moderately he added.

The regional committee met last May and decided on protest measures against the taxation but held off when the Labour Party and the national unity government promised to study the matter and come up with possible solutions. Nothing came of the promises. "In addition to the illegitimate taxation, the government has been replanning Arab lands to include them within the limits of Jewish municipalities, thus giving itself more control over the future of these lands," Hussein said. This resulted in discriminate rezoning procedures whereby many Arab landowners could not build homes or farm their fields because of zoning laws in the Jewish municipalities.

Furthermore, over 7000 Arab homes inside the 'green line', some built before the establishment of Israel, are threatened with demolition because the Israeli government refuses to grant them building permits. Arabs also see this tactic as a way to deprive them of their basic rights of owning a home. These houses have remained without water, electricity or sewage. The regional council intends to fight for them, *Al Fajr* was told.

The municipalities of Nazareth and Um al-Fahm have already sent cables to Israeli cabinet members protesting these threats, in addition to demanding larger budgets for their cities which receive less than half the funds that Jewish cities get. Employees at Um al-Fahm municipality have not been paid for over three months and several services could not be provided because of lack of funds. Nazareth employees are yet to receive last month's wages, but only if the Israeli government allocates more funds to the largest Arab city inside the 'green line'.

Christians, Jews Protest Mormon Univ.

Attacks on a number of religious sites occurred last week amidst strong Christian protest that the Israelis are giving special treatment to Mormons, and strong objections to the same effect from Israeli sectors, particularly Orthodox Jews.

Vandals smashed windows at the Mormon meeting place in East Jerusalem and left a garden hose running through the hole, flooding the building July 7. An Israeli army-issued grenade was found in a box at the entrance of the offices of another sect, "Jehova's Witnesses," in Tel Aviv July 8. The grenade was safely defused. Earlier July 6 windows at the same office were broken. Police are reportedly investigating both incidents.

Representatives of Christian denominations held a news conference July 8 attacking the Jerusalem municipality's hasty decision to give the Mormon Church a licence to build a branch of Brigham Young University on the Mount of Olives. Charles Kopp, General-Secretary of the United Christian Churches in Israel (UCCI), told *Al Fajr* that he was shocked by how quickly the Mormons were granted a licence while Baptists, who have been here for over 60 years and whose Church was burned down by Jewish extremists in 1982, have not been given a permit to rebuild. Kopp told journalists that the Mormons have made generous contributions to the Jerusalem municipality. *The Jerusalem Post* interpreted Kopp's statement as saying that the Mormons bribed Teddy Kollek's municipality.

Kopp and other Christian leaders representing Catholic, Greek Catholic and Armenian Churches bitterly protested the fact that Israeli officials have termed the Mormons "Christians." UCCI officials brought a Christian expert on Mormons to Israel to testify before a Knesset committee about the Mormons. Kopp said that Mormons are deceptive in that they practise differently than they preach.

Orthodox Jews have been vehemently objecting to the municipality's agreement to allow the Mormon University to be built in Jerusalem. They claim the Mormon's real purpose is to convert as many people as possible. Mormon officials have publicly vowed not to seek converts in the area, and are reportedly prepared to sign an undertaking to that effect.

The site of the planned BYU campus is on Palestinian land which was confiscated by the Israelis in 1968.

33 FOREIGN STUDENTS STUDY ARABIC AT BZU

Thirty-three foreign students from England, the US, France, Holland, Norway, Japan, Australia, New Zealand, Canada, West Germany and Sweden began a six-week course in colloquial and standard Arabic at Bir Zeit University June 2. The course is part of a newly adopted student-exchange programme between Bir Zeit and European universities. In addition to Arabic language courses, some students will study problems of development in Palestinian society under Israeli occupation. The foreign students will also participate in the annual international voluntary work camp in Nazareth in August.

The Dawn
AL FAJR
AL FAJR – Jerusalem Palestinian Weekly

Publisher:
Paul A. Ajlouny
Editor:
Hanna Siniora

Tel: (02) 281035
P.O. Box 19315
East Jerusalem

Telex no.s:
Jerusalem: 26467 omar il
Washington: 64677 omar uw

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The Moment of Truth

The moment of truth has finally come. The world is about to find out who is genuinely interested in peace and who just gives lip service to the concept.

Within a short time, US officials are expected to meet a joint Jordanian-Palestinian delegation, formed after strenuous efforts among Palestinians themselves, between Palestinians and Jordanians, and between Arabs and Americans. The Jordanian-Palestinian agreement signed last February 11, which includes a number of substantial concessions on the Palestinian part, clearly designates a reasonable and practical basis for beginning the long and gruesome march towards an end to the Arab-Israeli conflict.

The clarity and straightforwardness of the Arab stand has been met with a vague and hesitant response from Americans and Israelis. The Americans view the meeting with a joint Palestinian-Jordanian delegation as a mere exhibition, a sour pill the US has to swallow in order to facilitate Palestinian recognition of UN resolution 242 and 338. This American position, which was recently enunciated by US Secretary of State George Shultz, is strange. Palestinians perceive the meeting between US officials and a delegation chosen by the PLO as recognition of the Palestinians as people, not of resolution 242 which refers to Palestinians only as refugees.

The Israeli position is even further removed from reality. Israeli officials are debating how best to "escape the problem as cleanly as possible." Prime Minister Shimon Peres argues that it is better to force the Americans to tie the meeting to future direct negotiations. His political rival, Foreign Minister Yitzhak Shamir, prefers to ignore the whole issue and thus avoid being faced with possible territorial compromise.

Israelis are clearly bracing themselves in case their eternal bluff is about to be called. What will Israel say to the request of total withdrawal from the areas occupied in 1967? To the idea of PLO-appointed Palestinian delegates involved in negotiations? To dismantling Jewish settlements? To addressing the problem of Palestinian refugees? All these questions have been swept under the carpet for years.

But the moment of truth has finally come. Will Israel face hard realities or will it look for ways to continue avoiding these questions? Our long experience tells us that Israel will continue to duck the real issues. It is time for the rest of the world to know the real Israel and its colonial and expansionist aims in Palestine.

AL FAJR – Jerusalem Palestinian Weekly

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Samiha Khalil:

'I Want to See My Children'

Below is a statement issued by Mrs Samiha Khalil, the President of In'ash al-Usra *(Family Rehabilitation) Society, at a press conference in Jerusalem on July 8, 1985.*

Tomorrow the UN 1985 World Conference of the UN Decade for Women will hold its opening session in Nairobi, Kenya. Women from around the world will gather to discuss the pressing issues of peace, equality, and development for women. I was extremely honoured to receive an official invitation from the Planning Committee of the Conference to serve as a Resource Person. I have been preparing for several months to serve to the best of my abilities in this role. But I will not be there tomorrow, or in the days to come as women discuss these important issues. On Wednesday, July 3, the Legal Adviser of the Military Government informed my attorney, Raja Shahadeh, that I was denied permission to travel to Nairobi. No reason was given.

As there is no stated reason, I have had to ask myself why this denial was issued against me. The facts of my life are simple. I am a woman who has lived in this area all my life – for over 60 years. I am a mother who has brought up five children, in the sometimes difficult conditions of war and dislocation. Two of my five children have been deported from the West Bank and are not allowed to return to visit me. All five children live abroad. I am a widow and I now live alone in al-Bireh. Because my children live abroad, I have often wished to travel to see them. I have made repeated efforts, but since 1980, I was allowed to travel to Jordan only once, in 1983, for a week.

I hope it is not the aim of the military authorities to block the normal wish of a mother to see her children. So I continue to ask why; why am I denied permission to travel? I turn to my life as a professional woman – does the reason lie there? For the past 20 years, I have been the head of a women's charitable society, *In'ash al-Usra*, which is located in the town of al-Bireh, where I reside. Our society has developed from a few women volunteers to an organisation that employs 86 people and supports 3000 families. Our society performs a wide range of services for women and children in our community: we hold classes to teach women employable skills; we maintain a daycare centre; we have productive activities to employ people and to raise money for our society; we publish a folklore magazine and maintain a museum of Palestinian craft and dress. We give scholarships to needy students and we support families who have no breadwinner. Do any of these activities constitute a reason to deny me permission to travel? I would think not.

To be sure, I, like most heads of charitable societies in the West Bank, have been questioned about my activities by the military authorities. At times, they have expressed disapproval of the aid we have given to prisoners' children, for example. But our mission is the welfare of *all* children; we do not deny bread or milk to any hungry child. Surely this cannot be a reason to deny me permission to travel.

Yet I have consistently been denied permission to leave the West Bank, either to see my children or to attend international conferences on issues that concern my work here, such as the welfare of Palestinian families or the preservation of Palestinian culture. Indeed, for a full two-and-a-half years, from 1980-1982, I could not even "travel" beyond the municipal boundaries of the town of al-Bireh. In those years, the authorities imposed five successive town arrest orders upon me – for periods of six months each. The military authorities even called me from the deathbed of my husband, despite my pleas, to read me one of the town arrest orders. Again, these orders are issued without any specific charge or reason and there is no opportunity to challenge them in a court of law.

Even after the town arrest orders expired, I was still not allowed to travel. In late 1983, I issued an Open Appeal to All Mothers. In this appeal, I said: "Since denial of permits to visit is not subject to condition or time limits, this effectively means that years may pass without the possibility that I would see my children. This denial of the right of a mother to see her children contradicts the most basic international human and legal rights."

I believe this reaches the heart of the matter. I am in the inhuman situation of enduring a denial of my freedom from a power that is not accountable in any way. This authority will not give me any reason for this denial, nor provide me with means to defend my case or to challenge the denial.

I have never been charged with breaking any law or military regulation. I have received no specific order banning me from travel. I have appealed through several lawyers and have tried all legal recourse available to me. Still the answer comes "No permission. You are denied." In this case, I applied for a *laissez passez* from the authorities over six weeks ago. I was told on June 19 that the request was refused. My attorney, Raja Shehadeh, then petitioned the Legal Adviser and explained that I had received an official invitation from the United Nations to attend the Nairobi conference. On July 3, the answer came again: "No permission. You are denied."

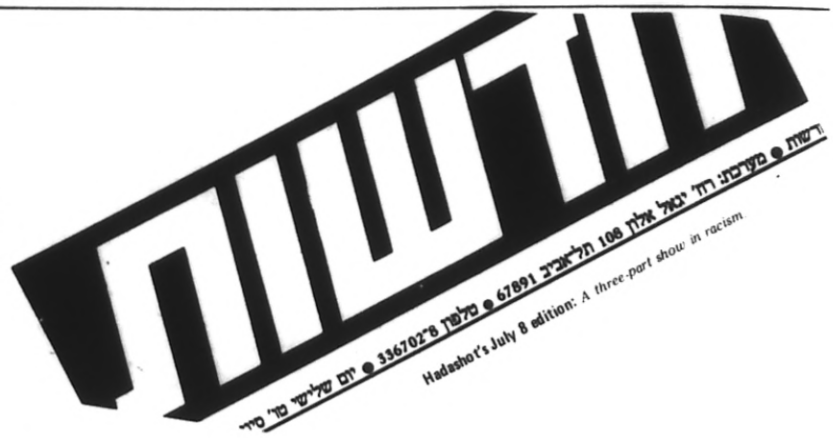
And there my story ends – unless individuals and organisations concerned with human rights will take up my case and urge the authorities to lift this inhuman restriction. I would like to use the opportunity to appeal to the world community to come to my assistance, as a mother barred from her children and as a woman working for the welfare of women and children. We have two sayings in our Society, *In'ash al-Usra*, that have guided our work for many years through many difficult periods. We say: "Better light one candle every day than cry in the darkness a hundred years." We also say: "The word 'impossible' does not exist." I believe in these sayings with all my heart and I am sure that people of goodwill will speak out on my behalf and I will see my children again.

I would like to end by briefly noting what I planned to say at the Nairobi conference. My main message is one simple word: "Peace". We long for peace in this area; we are working for peace and we believe peace is possible once we establish our independent Palestinian state and regain our national and political rights.

The military authorities have denied me the right to present this message at Nairobi. I hope I can convey it through this statement and through all those who believe in peace throughout the world. ■

AL FAJR invites our readers to contribute letters, articles and opinions. Contributions must be signed, but names may be withheld upon request.

Watch Out For Racism



by Thoma Schick

I often wonder, what is strange: The newspaper that publishes, the people who are involved, the circumstances — or all of them together, with unexpressed intentions and fear? Simply said, is it the situation or a matter of intention ? Are we indeed living in a strange or rather odd situation or are our minds so overburdened with controversies, that we think we practice "normal life"?

Look, for instance, at the July issue of a sensational but also sensitive Hebrew daily newspaper,*Hadashot*. On the front page, a large photo shows an Arab suspect being taken away by police immediately following a blast in the courtyard of the Hassan Bek Mosque in Jaffa. Page nine bears another photo showing eight of the Arab workers who were arrested in the same incident and released. Headlines: "The Police: 'We Are Checking Whether the Hand Grenades Were an Extreme Jew's Provocation' "; and the words of a senior police officer, "Provocation of Jews Against Arabs." The officer estimates that Jews are behind the grenade attack on Hassan Bek Mosque. "The grenade thrower ran through the streets of Tel Aviv/Jaffa with another grenade still in his hand, causing panic. Eyewitness: 'He shouted in Hebrew with an English accent.' Police hold one suspected Arab." End of caption.

Afterwards, all the other detainees were released. No Jewish suspect was caught. But then why were the Arabs arrested in the first place? A matter of routine? A matter of remaining open to every possibility? An "internal conflict among Jaffa Arabs"? However, if the police are so openminded, why couldn't they arrest 10 Jews who were accidentally passing by? Maybe because Jews are not up and about early in the morning, at the hour of 9:00 am, by the Tel Aviv seashore that now borders the mosque. Even for the nearby Shuk Hacarmel (Carmel street market) it is too early for the Jewish customers, but the vendors are more likely to be up and about, setting up wares and vegetable stands. They are Arabs...

***

On pages, 3, 6 and 9 of the same issue, a three-part show is presented. The scene is the same in all these parts: The Israeli Ministry of Education and Culture. The name of the show , "Look Out For Racism," remains unstated, but it is part of the enigmatic performance, part of the atmosphere of tension and mystery in which the tragicomedy is performed.

Part I: "Kach Movement Activist Fired From The Ministry of Education."

" 'A person with racist views will not have a role in the educational system,' said the ministry's Director General, Eliezer Shmueli." Kach Activist Moshe Neuberger was a counsellor in the "field, nation, society" project [*Shelah* is the Hebrew acronym of the name, which means "weaponry". It is a nationwide permanent educational project only in Jewish high schools. When it happens that individual Arab students are enrolled at such schools, they are excluded from the project, which also involves paramilitary training in weapon handling and lectures by army personnel usually of the lower ranks, on political issues. Shmueli explained the dismissal thus: 'I severely disapprove of the idea that people with racist ideas could have a role in the educational system. We shall do everything we can so someone who preaches racism will not be able to do it from within the educational system.' "

Part II: "Democracy? Very Important! — But Without Arabs" "Director of Ministry of Education's Youth Department Condemns Seminar for Hosting an Arab."

A seminar for Jewish high school students similar to *Shelah*, concentrating on Zionism but without paramilitary exercises, was organised in Beit Berl, the educational centre of the Labour Party near Kfar Saba, in cooperation with the Ministry of Education and Culture. This seminar has been going on for some time. Students from different schools are brought regularly to attend one session. In a recent seminar the counsellors included a discussion with a young Arab who told the students about the difficulties of being an Arab in the state of Israel. Oded Cohen, the Youth Department Director for the Ministry of Education, just happened to visit that session of the seminar. Afterwards he asked the students : "What did you learn in the seminar?" The students replied: "We learned that an Arab is also a human being." In response, Oded Cohen gathered the counsellors and told them: "This is what you are teaching them? For this they are brought here?"Afterwards he justified his outburst by saying that the programme was overcrowded with speakers and he was upset because the issue was not given enough time to be fully developed. Such an incident had never happened before in other sessions of the seminar: no Arab had ever been invited to speak before...

Part III: Education researchers at Tel Aviv University recently completed a study which found that teachers with low self-confidence about their professional knowledge remain in the educational system, while those with high self-confidence tend to leave teaching. Amalia Oliver-Lumerman carried out the research entitled, "Pressure and Results in High School Teachers' Work," which was recently published in Haifa University's *Educational Studies Quarterly* (Hebrew). The researcher concludes: "The fact that they lack training and knowledge is considered by the teachers as permission to teach in a superficial manner, easing their work load and releasing pressure."

Epilogue: Special seminars on Zionism and "good Citizenship" are organised by the Ministry of Education because of a certain panic among the Zionist leadership about youth not taking Zionism and "good Citizenship" seriously anymore as it is taught in schools. New and more attractive educational methods like excursions and lectures by guest teachers or "specialists" are being tried in the new seminars in the hope that they will be more convincing.

The question is whether the youth is falling into the trap. Research carried out by the Van Leer Foundation found that for the time being, 40 percent of Jewish youth support Kach-Kahane ideas. In Jewish religious schools the percentage is 59.

WATCH OUT FOR RACISM! EDUCATORS — ON THE ALERT

P.S. The next day, July 9, it was disclosed that Moshe Neuberger, the Kach activist teacher, will not in fact be dismissed because "there is no law that prohibits educational employees from having Kahanist views." ■

LETTER

To the Editor,

After reading the interviews of former Mayor Mohammed Milhem and Professor Rashid Khalidi in your July 5 edition, I decided that I must come to the rescue of the Palestinian readers who were depressed and disturbed and whose moods were certainly tempered by the melancholy attitudes expressed by these distinguished notables. These two notables undoubtedly formed their opinion by approaching the Palestinian question on an objective scholarly plane, without taking into consideration the theological aspects involved which pertain to the future of Palestine in general and to Jerusalem, the spiritual Citadel of the world. We, the Palestinian veteran Jewish inhabitants, regard the present Zionist rule over the Holy Land as a passing phenomena and foresee its imminent demise. Jewish theology teaches us that until the advent of the Messiah, the Land is to be ruled over by the indigenous Palestinian residents, descendants of Isma'el.

We commend the Palestine Liberation Organisation for being steadfast in its determination not to yield on their basic rights to rule over their own people. The Jewish Palestinians, who also long to be freed from the heretic Zionist yoke, are awaiting the "self-determination" of the Palestinian people — both Jewish and Arab. This would spare us the agony and fear for the future. The Zionist domineerers are in a constant state of defiance of G-d's Will — not to rule over the Holy Land by force, against the will of those residing there. The distinguished interviewees make no mention of the Sanctity of the Land for which "G-d constantly seeks its well-being and looks after the deeds of those residing there — from the beginning of the year until its end," (DEUTERONOMY 11:12).

We therefore wish to assure our Palestinian brethren that as long as the ideological campaign is continuing against the dominating Zionist regime, there is more than just hope, that those who oppose the regime will be worthy to realise its passing out and its being substituted with a rule which will be compatible to its residents and to Divinity.

Rabbi Moshe Hirsch
Neturei Karta
Jerusalem, Palestine

The Damascus Agreement Viewed from Jerusalem

by Said al-Ghazali

After the month-long war for the Beirut refugee camps, some factions representing the conflicting parties signed an agreement in Damascus June 18 to end the fighting.

The Damascus agreement sparked a debate among Palestinians in the occupied territories and abroad. Some welcomed it; others found certain provisions objectionable; others rejected it out of hand because the PLO leadership was not consulted. Those who oppose the agreement say that it does away with the 1969 Cairo Agreement between the PLO and the Lebanese government considered by Palestinians as a landmark. The Damascus agreement was not even signed by the Lebanese government, they say, only by the Amal movement, which signals a shift in Palestinian-Lebanese relations. This may weaken the implementation of the agreement in the future because the Lebanese government will not be obliged to abide by an agreement it did not sign.

Subsequent developments are also cited by opponents of the agreement in their arguments. The Amal militias did not withdraw from the camps as the agreement stipulated but waged another round of attacks last week, blowing up the agreement they signed. Amal's military actions coincided with Syrian-sponsored negotiations and dialogue between Lebanese Muslim factions on security arrangements for West Beirut.

The Damascus agreement includes 13 articles that provide for a ceasefire, withdrawal of Amal fighters, release of all detainees, and reconciliation. The Palestinian Salvation Front, the Lebanese Democratic National Front, Amal, and Syria are the four signatories. The agreement stipulates that security in the Palestinian camps is an integral part of security in Beirut as a whole, and that a comprehensive security plan should be worked out by all Lebanese factions together. In the meantime, however, heavy and medium weapons belonging to Palestinians in the camps are to be collected and turned over to a joint coordination committee representing the signatory parties. The committee was charged with supervising the implementation of the Damascus agreement and opening a police station in each refugee camp.

The agreement also specifies that the Palestinian signatories to the Damascus agreement are considered the recognised national and political leadership for Palestinians in Lebanon until unity between the PLO factions is restored.

The mixed Palestinian reactions to the Damascus agreement should be understood in light of current divisions within the PLO. Thus opponents and supporters alike based their positions more on private factional views rather than objective analysis. The Palestinians who spoke to *Al Fajr* agreed that national unity is the only solution to the current political crisis. Those who reject the Damascus agreement but support the Amman agreement signed on February 11 between PLO Chairman Yasir Arafat and Jordan's King Hussein see the recent initiative of Farouq Qaddoumi, head of the PLO's Political Department, as a serious attempt to restore Palestinian unity. However, those who sympathise with opposition Palestinian factions want the PLO leadership to abandon the Amman agreement as a preliminary step for dialogue on national unity. Beyond their stands on this or that agreement, it is true that all Palestinian factions are under the direct impact of *khamaseen* winds (hot, southerly wind from the desert) blowing from the Arab capitals.

Bashir Barghouthi, Editor of the Communist weekly *Al Tali'a*, tried to redirect attention away from the specific issue of the Beirut camps and back to the larger Palestinian struggle and its objectives. He told *Al Fajr* he believes the Palestinians should change political strategy, abandoning reliance on Arab regimes and strengthening ties with the Arab masses.

Barghouthi believes that "the Damascus agreement is only a temporary truce between the fighting factions, since there is no serious change in the political stands of the forces that waged the 'camps war.' Barghouthi pointed to the restrictions that were imposed on Palestinian camps and gatherings in the Beka'a and in south Lebanon. He said those facts indicate that Amal and the Phalange will be the main powers in the Lebanese arena. Barghouthi believes "all these facts must lead Palestinians to reevaluate their political strategy of establishing a 'state infrastructure' because previous experience affirms that these institutions failed because of oppression from Arab regimes."

The Editor of *Al 'Ahd*, the opposition bi-monthly magazine, analysed Amal's political aims. "Amal wants to implement a sectarian solution in Lebanon and to separate the Palestinian cause from Lebanon's problems. There is an implicit understanding between Amal and Israel on the basis of preventing Palestinians from carrying out operations from Lebanese territory." *Al 'Ahd*'s editor believes that Syria wants to take sole credit for the joint Palestinian-Lebanese-Syrian achievements. This has been clearly manifested in the case of the hijacked TWA plane. The Editor of *Al 'Ahd* told *Al Fajr*: "I don't say this to give an opportunity to rightist Palestinians to score malicious points. But I disclose the Syrian game to refute claims that the Salvation Front is a Syrian tool. The 'camps war' showed that the Salvation Front is independent from Syrian domination. I know that Syria considers the Palestinian struggle as subservient to the role of Syria. Syria thinks the Palestinians are not capable of reaching their ends on their own," the Editor of *Al 'Ahd* said. He added that Amal was forced to sign the Damascus agreement, but the Palestinian factions signed of their own will. Furthermore, he said, there are no heavy and medium weapons in the refugee camps, so the article on disarmament was not a serious compromise.

Radwan Abu Ayash, Head of the Arab Journalists Association, completely rejected the Damascus agreement. "It contains serious concessions in four articles (6, 7, 8, and 9)." he said. He described the Damascus agreement as "opportunist" because, he said, it gave the Syrians the chance to disarm the Palestinian camps. Amal, on the other hand, did not have to disarm. Abu Ayash added that the agreement contained no condemnation of Amal's brutal attacks on the camps, and that the coordination committees did not include PLO fighters. "Where is the PLO and its legitimate leadership in the agreement?" he asked. "A good reader can read in the agreement that the Amal movement, which killed and wounded hundreds of Palestians in the camps, was transformed in one day into a national force seeking liberation," he said. Abu Ayash believes there is an alternative to accepting the agreement, which is to continue pressuring Syria and disclosing its real intention — to dominate the PLO.

Isma'il Tazziz, head of Pharmacists Union in the West Bank expressed reservations about the Damascus agreement. "If there are heavy and medium weapons in the camps, then agreeing to withdraw them is a real compromise." However, he noted that no Palestinian — individual or faction — is against the ceasefire in the camps, which suffered severely. Tazziz praised the Palestinian steadfastness and appealed to all Palestinian factions to reunite on the basis of the Aden-Algiers agreement. Tazziz believes that "the besieged Palestinians in the camps had had no other choice but to accept the Damascus Agreement." ■

Amal militias shelling the Shatila refugee camp: *The agreement turned Amal into a national movement.*

THE DAMASCUS AGREEMENT

An agreement signed by the Palestinian Salvation Front, Amal movement, the Lebanese National Democratic Front, and Syria on June 18 following one month of fighting in the Beirut camps.

1. Stopping shooting, halting military raids and intrusions and removing all hostility. The injured must be evacuated and all human tasks in the camp must be done.

2. Amal fighters and the Sixth Brigade of the Lebanese Army are to be withdrawn to positions where they were before the fighting broke out.

3. The Sixth Brigade must go back to its normal duties before the recent developments.

4. The release of detainees and the return of refugees to their homes in the camps. Necessary reconstruction in the camps will not be obstructed.

5. To create a reconciliatory atmosphere, remove tensions caused by the war and to hold popular forums.

6. Security in the Palestinian refugee camps is an integral part of Beirut's security. The security committee, which was formed during the meeting of Lebanese Muslim factions in Damascus, will submit a comprehensive security plan to be implemented in Beirut including the camps. The Salvation Front will be consulted. The Lebanese security forces will supervise security in the camps. A police checkpost will be opened at each camp.

7. When the various Lebanese parties agree on a security plan or plans to be implemented in greater Beirut or other Lebanese regions, or when the Lebanese national unity government makes such plans, they will be implemented in the Palestinian camps as well as other Lebanese regions and all decisions and procedures are also binding on the Lebanese as well as on the Palestinians.

8. Weapons will be partially or completely collected in Lebanon when a security plan is agreed upon by all Lebanese factions or decided by the unity government. Meanwhile, heavy and medium weapons will be collected and taken out of the camps and placed under sponsorship of the joint coordination committee.

9. The joint coordination committee will consist of two members representing each faction — Amal, the National Democratic Front and the National Salvation Front. A Syrian observer will take a role in the committee. The committee's tasks will be political and social security coordination. The committee will supervise the implementation of this agreement and deal with all issues and urgent problems. It is also its duty to sponsor reconciliation and arrange popular forums, and to coordinate political stands and struggle to encounter dangers and conspiracies which have been woven against the Lebanese national stand and the cause of Palestine and Syria. These conspiracies aim at breaking the united stand of these forces.

10. The Lebanese National Democratic Front, Amal, and the Palestinian National Salvation Front, sponsored by the Syrian leadership, will submit a programme to maintain alliances and coordination among these forces and to strengthen the joint national struggle in all its aspects, including armed struggle, and to assist the Palestinian revolution in its struggle to liberate Palestine.

11. The national Lebanese and Palestinian forces affirm the inevitability of allying with Syria to encounter imperialist and reactionary schemes. Syria is the main force in the Arab world which encounters imperialism and reactionism in the region.

12. The Lebanese National Democratic Front, Amal movement and the Palestinian National Salvation Front are the recognised national and political leadership for Palestinians in Lebanon until the Front will restore PLO unity in accordance with its declared political programme.

13. The Lebanese National Democratic Front and the Amal movement will guarantee brotherly treatment of Palestinians in Lebanon and improvement in living conditions until they fulfil their political aspirations and return to their homeland in the same manner as Syria.

The three parties endorse this agreement to be based on their patriotic and national responsibility and their brotherly relations between both Palestinian and Lebanese peoples. These relations will remain forever stronger than all conspiracies.

The Civil Administration's 1984 Report

Beautifying Occupation: The Facade of Benevolence

by Daoud Kuttab and Kate Rouhana

For the first time in 18 years, the Israelis have published an English version of their annual report on the activities of the "Civil Administration" which "administers" the territories of "Judea and Samaria." Entitled *The Civil Administration Judea and Samaria Annual Report, 18th Year of Administration*, it was presented to journalists the second week of June by the outgoing head of the Administration, Colonel Freddy Zach.

Like its title, the report is a fascinating exercise in disinformation.

For the uninitiated, "administration" is Israeli jargon for occupation. The term Judea and Samaria refers to the West Bank. And the Civil Administration differs in name only from the Military Administration it replaced in 1982. Established by military order 947, it is the body responsible for overseeing the day-to-day implementation of Israeli occupation and gradual annexation of the West Bank. Staffed by military officers, the "Civil" Administration runs various quasi-governmental departments organised like mini-ministries that supervise all aspects of Palestinian life in the West Bank. The head of the Civil Administration is directly appointed by the Israeli Defence Ministry.

Yet despite the substantial military role in the administration of the West Bank, there is barely a passing mention of even the word military, of the role of the Israeli army, of military orders that provide the legal basis for Israeli occupation, or of the number of military personnel who work for the Civil Administration. Rather, the report reads like a shining record of benign civil services performed on behalf of the local population. And the record is misleading. It is a list of isolated accomplishments — often obscurely phrased — without the background information necessary to assess their meaning, a parade of selective statistics with almost no analyis. The only places anything remotely resembling analysis appears is in sections where comparison of today's figures with those of 1967 makes the Israeli occupiers look good.

Granted, the document was not intended as a comprehensive study of 18 years of Israeli occupation, or even of one year of West Bank history. But even as an annual record of Israeli activities, its deficiencies are glaring. Conspicuously missing are the figures for the Civil Administration's budget, clarification on the role of government ministries in the West Bank, concise description of the dual legal system (for residents and settlers), explanation of the role of the Civil Administration in the Jewish settlements, and clear indication of which items refer also to the Jewish population in the area and which pertain solely to Arabs.

Beyond these general deficiencies, examples of lack of clarity, misleading facts, and missing information are too numerous to document fully. Indeed, the report's two most outstanding characteristics are its acerbity and its partial presentation of facts.

Divorced From Reality

The 89-page report covers the period between April 1, 1984 — March 31, 1985. It begins with an introduction by Colonel Zach, and then itemises the structure, functions and activities of the various departments in the Civil Administration — advisory branches (spokesperson, legal adviser, comptroller, personnel officer) and bureaucratic branches (economic, interior and services, infrastructure).

Zach's introduction is an example *par excellence* of the message the entire report is intended to convey to the public. The four main points are: 1) that PLO influence in the area has declined due to divisions within the PLO and a new alliance with local Jordanian supporters; 2) that Israel's economic crisis "is hardly felt in the area aside from a slight decrease in production;" 3) that the Administration "continued to encourage development and financial investment in the area;" and 4) that the mission of improving the "Quality of Life" in the area — the Administration's Theme of the Year — was carried out with tangible success.

Finally, Zach attempts to paint a rosy picture of close cooperation between the Civil Administration and "all the various elements that operate in the area." With the exception of the first, which has perhaps a grain of truth, none of these points has any basis in reality. This is the only place in the report where anything political is mentioned. Nowhere is Israel's long-term policy for the area spelled out.

Zach's introduction reveals a lot about the purpose of the report. It is intended to whitewash the grim situation in the occupied territories and to present journalists and other foreign researchers, institutions, and visitors with a picture of a benevolent "administration" that has only the interests of the local population in mind. In keeping with this aim, a kind of double-talk is employed and unpleasant facts are, for the most part, left out. Demonstrations, curfews, house demolitions, university closures, town arrests, dismissal of municipalities, land confiscations, settler violence, and even Palestinian violence are never once mentioned.

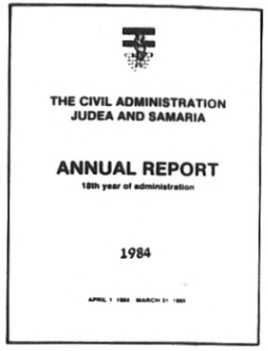
It seems that the decision to publish an English version of the report is not coincidental. Media and world attention to the situation of Palestinians under occupation has greatly increased since the spring of 1982, when the inauguration of the Civil Administration sparked widespread demonstrations and the Israelis dismissed many municipalities and killed more than 20 demonstrators. In the wake of new world interest, the Israelis have made a substantial effort to repair the damage to their image. During the last year, the "Quality of Life" campaign was stressed at every opportuity and a new, more articulate spokesperson was hired for the Civil Administration. The report is just another step in this direction.

Deliberately Misleading

There are many places in the report where facts are distorted in a way that can only be called deliberate. In some cases, selective data are presented in a misleading manner. Elsewhere, steps the Civil Administration took against the will of the populace or in order to exert more control over them are depicted as well-intentioned moves that advanced the well-being of the recipients.

Indeed, it is often more interesting to look at what the report does *not* say than at what it says. It is impossible to itemise every example of distortion but we will cite a few.

In the first category, the presentations of data on population, employment and unemployment, standard of living, and industry are the clearest cases of misrepresentations. Many of these appear in the section entitled *Economics* on pp. 13-16. On population, there is no indication of how the statistics were obtained or of probable errors due to the difficulty of collecting reliable demographic data in the West Bank. Birth and death rates are cited with no mention of the fact that an unknown but large number of births and deaths take place at home and are never registered. The report claims that in 1967, life expectancy for West Bank males was 46 and for females 50, while in 1985 the figures had risen to 60 and 64 respectively. Reliable sources told *Al Fajr* that before 1967 there were simply no figures on life expectancy for the West Bank alone; all included the East Bank of the Jordan as well. If the 1967 figures cited are taken from Jordanian records, they are incorrect because a large percent of residents in the Kingdom of Jordan are nomad Beduin whose low life expectancy rates are well-known.


THE CIVIL ADMINISTRATION
JUDEA AND SAMARIA

ANNUAL REPORT
18th year of administration

1984

APRIL 1, 1984 - MARCH 31, 1985

The statistics on manpower and unemployment are confusing and misleading. There are a number of figures on the local work force (estimated at 160,000), the number of employed (154,000), and the number of employed in various fields in Israel and in the territories. Nowhere is there any indication of how these nice, round figures were obtained. Nor do they all add up correctly. No definition is given for "employed" or "unemployed," and there is no data on overall unemployment whatsoever. The reader is left to infer it for him- or herself that only 6000 out of 160,000 are unemployed — around 3.75 percent. Yet a recent survey conducted by one of the largest union blocs in the West Bank found that unemployment had hit 22 percent as of November 1984. The International Labour Organisation (ILO) recently issued areport that set the estimate for unemployment in the area at a whopping 30-40 percent.

In the same section, a description of economics indicators seems misleading, particularly as it is contradicted later in the report. The description reads:

> Early indicators for 1984 show that changes [from 1983] are minor, most of the standard indicators decreased, and private consumption decreased by 1 percent... Imports have been decreasing the last few years, however, other indicators (local produce, and free national income) show a 3.6 percent increase for a two year average period. (p.15).

Apparently the Agriculture Officer is more honest. In a subsection entitled *1984 Agriculture Production*, he or she wrote:

> According to primary estimates, the national income of the area in 1984 was 10-15 percent lower than that of 1983. As agriculture makes up more than one-third of the national income in the area, such a significant decrease in agriculture will have a large influence on the income and general conditions (p. 20).

This passage, in itself confusing, is at least a sincere effort to portray the real situation.

The standard of living measured in wages is more deceptive. It notes that "the price index in the area, in February 1982, was 5.1 times higher than in February 1984." Typographical errors in the years cited make this information useless. The paragraph then goes on to state that "the salary for a resident of the area *employed by the Civil Administration* increased 5.4 times, similar to the increase in wages for employees in Israel" (p. 16, emphasis added). To a casual observer, this creates the mistaken impression that *all* wages rose as much and that no wage erosion due to inflation took place in the West Bank.

It also neglects to mention the sharp hike in income tax alone — 39 percent in real terms according to the report (p.26), not to mention hikes in various other taxes (VAT 32.7% in real terms, local products tax 38.9%, stamp tax 19.3%, municipal property tax 6%), all of which have cut deeply into West Bankers' wages.

Also in the same section, the Administration boasts that "completed housing construction reached 566,000 square metres" and "4,065 housing units are completed every year" (p. 16). One immediately wonders whether these figures include construction of Jewish settlements in area. But the number of houses demolished by the military for "security" reasons or because the owner was not given a permit to build does not appear anywhere. Also unmentioned are the number of applications to build new houses that go unanswered or are turned down every year.

Finally, data on industry in the area are presented in a number of places (pp. 15, 28, 29) in a distorted way. The report states that there are 2410 factories in the area, at first glance a substantial number. But the Administration's definition of "factory" is surely off the mark if, as it reports, "the average number of workers in a factory is only four." Conspicuously missing is a breakdown of the kinds of "industries" in the West Bank. It seems that the Israelis included in this category "small workshops outside the cities" that employ only a handful of people. If a real breakdown had been provided, the reader would have had an accurate idea of what was being glibly defined as an "industry," and would have understood that the Israelis only issue permits for light industries, and then only if they do not compete with Israeli companies. The reader would also have understood that a substantial number of these enterprises are actually subsidiary branches of Israeli companies, particularly in the textile industry. The number of applications for new industries that were turned down or remain outstanding does not appear in the report — only the number of permits that were issued (a grand total of three).

Facade of Benevolence

The second type of misleading information — actions wrongly portrayed as well-intentioned — is also quite frequent. The most outstanding pertain to electricity, municipalities, universities, refugee camps, and the Village Leagues. The report proudly boasts that "during the year the western neighbourhoods of Shechem [Nablus] were connected to the national network" (p.61), making it sound as if these areas previously had no electricity. In fact Bassam Shaka'a, the elected and deposed mayor of Nablus, had worked very hard to build the Nablus electric company which provided electricity to all the surrounding villages. The same is true of Jenin, also cited in the report. Only after deposing the elected mayors of these cities and installing Israeli appointees was the Civil Administration able to link them to the Israeli grid, an action Palestinians view as part of the effort to annex the West Bank and make the them more dependent on Israeli services to render any future withdrawal close to impossible.

The report mentions that there are 25 municipalities, 82 village councils and 210 *mukhtars*, as if this is a sign of Israeli tolerance of local self-rule. But the rest of the story — that most West Bank mayors and municipalities were dismissed and replaced by Israeli mayors or Arab quislings, that municipal elections have not been held in nine years, and that dozens of *mukhtars* were removed from their positions — is left untold.

In the section on education, a very impressive list of schools and universities takes up two-and-a-half pages. This is also one of the few sections where a comparison between the situation in 1967 with that in 1985 is made, because it reflects well on the Israeli occupation. But the fact that Najah, the largest West Bank University, was closed for four months last year is omitted. Nor is the israeli closure of Bir Zeit's new campus for two months this year mentioned

The report blandly says that "street lamps were erected on Dheisheh and Qalandya roads" (p. 62) which sounds like a positive improvement. In reality, the lamps are floodlights directed at the two refugee camps to benefit Israeli soldiers and settlers in night raids and pursuit of stone-throwers.

On the Village Leaques, the report asserts:

> Six Village Leagues... work as public bodies concentrating on development projects, community works, encouraging employment, contacts and meetings with Israeli groups and organisations. The Village Leagues work in close cooperation with the village *mukhtars* and community leaders.

In fact, the Village Leagues — Israel's attempt to foster alternative leadership to elected municipalities — were so vehemently opposed by the local population that they soon faded into oblivion. Even the Israelis gave up on them long ago.

Errors

In addition to misleading statements and omissions, the annual report contains a number of errors — some undoubtedly honest mistakes, others resulting from wrong assumptions. For example, on page 26 the report states income taxes for 1984 reached 7.4 million shekels (US$4900). This amount was collected from a handful of individual West Bank merchants alone. Possibly the figure is meant to be in US dollars. The absence of a budget makes any cross checks impossible. Other figures like municipal taxes totalling 1.7 million shekels (US$1130) and business taxes totalling 1.6 million shekels (US$1060) are clearly wrong.

In the itemisation of prison sentences, the number of defendants sentenced to terms of more than five years is cited as 28. *Al Fajr* did not have to go far to refute this. One laywer alone, Abed Assali, said that in the same period more than 50 of his clients received sentences of over five years. "They must have left out a zero or two," he said. Another error concerns the number of people passing through the bridges to Amman. In one section of the report, only 3700 people entered and exited in the entire year (p.13). On p. 24, "5000 people pas s daily through the bridges."

One erroneous claim which is based on wrong assumptions concerns workers. The report states: "Labourers from the area who work in Israel receive the same social benefits as their Israeli counterparts" (p.35). Palestinians have no union protection and get none of the benefits Israelis enjoy like paid vacations and sick leaves, health insurance, classification according to job descriptions, etc.

Palestinian Response

Al Fajr asked Palestinian professionals in various fields to comment on certain sections of the report.

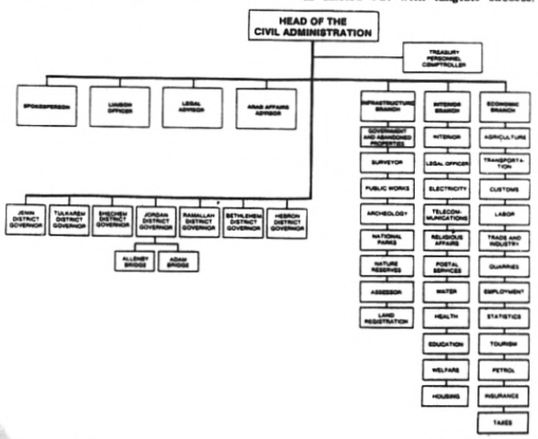
Health: West Bank doctors disputed the classification of general clinics (153) and mother and child clinics (110) cited in the report. Medical sources said that many of these clinics are one room offices which doctors visit once or twice a week.

Medical sources who saw the report also pointed out that the claim that X-ray units were set up in a number of West Bank hospitals is misleading. It was not the Civil Administration who provided these units, but rather the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP). Indeed the Israelis at first objected to the equipment and vetoed a number of other projects the UNDP proposed for other sectors of Palestinian society. Other hospital improvements the report attributes to Israeli benevolence were actually funded by private or Arab government contributions.

Doctors took special note of figures showing that 908 patients from the West Bank had been hospitalised in Israeli hospitals and 5639 patients were referred for treatment into out-patient clinics at these hospitals (p. 50). "Most of these patients could have been treated at our hospitals if the Israelis gave us proper basic budgets and if our equipment was properly maintained and operative," said one government doctor who refused to give his name. Another doctor, when shown the Civil Administration report, retorted: "The most disheartening fact is that often reagents necessary to operate the equipment run out and are not replaced by the Israeli authorities who are in charge of the hospitals." The doctor pointed to such equipment in Beit Jala and Ramallah hospitals which has become usless. An ultra-modern blood gas analyser at the Ramallah hospital is not functioning because of lack of reagent. The manner in which many patients are tranferred to Israeli hospitals drew protest from medical professionals. Palestinian patients who have to go to Israeli hospitals for treatment often have no health insurance and pay steep fees. Sometimes having health insurance doesn't help. Palestin-

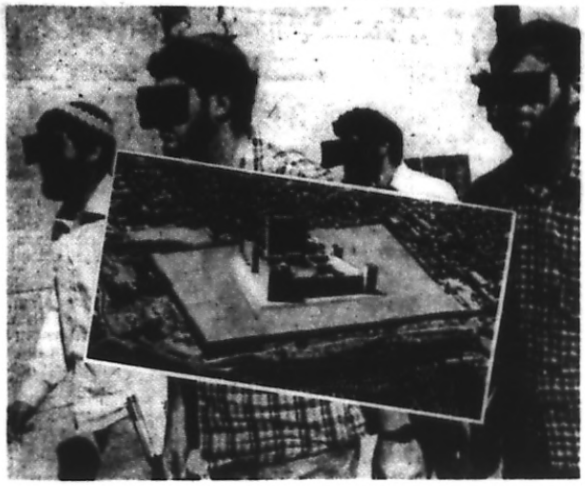
Continued on page 15

Ramallah prison — the sign reads "Civil Administration": *The only difference between civil administration and military administration is the name.*



Interesting Notes

- The number of Israeli vs Arab employees in the various departments varies widely. Finance: 26 Israelis and 4 locals (the report refers to Arabs as locals). Government and Abandoned Property: 37 Israelis and 14 locals. Health: 13 Israelis and 1533 locals. Education: 10 Israelis and 858 locals. Assessor: 2 Israelis and no locals.
- The amount of space given to the different sections varies, with little relationship to their importance. Archeology gets 4 pages while Government and Abandoned Property gets less than 1. The spokesperson gets 3 pages while the Comptroller gets 1.
- No permits were given for drilling new water wells again. (None have been granted since 1967.) But 15 requests are "under examination." Since when? Unspecified.
- Nine road projects were undertaken in 1984. Although it's not made clear, all the roads either connect existing settlements or are planned to facilitate roads to settlements.
- The report refers to investigating prison conditions. But the results of the investigations are not revealed. Neither is the fact that Israelwas condemned by the International Commission of Jurists for torture practices in Fara'a detention centre near Nablus.
- It seems that the editors discovered late that their writers did not use the Israeli names for at least two places. It is clear that they repeatedly replaced Nablus with "Shechem" by hand but proofreaders missed at least two places where the word Nablus was typed in the original. The same sloppy corrections were used to change the name of the Damya Bridge to "Adam."
- The employment officer boasts that the International Labour Organisation delegation that visited the occupied territories in March left with a "positive impression." Apparently this was not the case. In May, the ILO published a report on the visit that was very critical of Israeli policy toward Palestinian workers.



Religion in Politics

Israel's Domestic Holy War

by Michael Lowry

In retrospect, the "miracle" of the June 1967 war opened a veritable Pandora's Box of religious obscurantism, initiating a process whereby Zionism came to be increasingly defined in religious terms. Likewise, the pragmatics of colonialism are no longer seen as being predicated on national security so much as on *Halachic* imperative. (*Halacha* is Jewish religious law.) This ideological shift was accelerated during "King" Begin's reign, when fundamentalist religion was found to lend Israeli fascism a spiritual depth militarism could never provide. Simultaneously, the socialist Zionism, identified with Israel's "over-development towns" (ie, *the kibbutzim*), began to be perceived as an ideological corpse by the majority of the younger generation: the dead weight of their parents' fantasies.

This shift represents something of a regression of consciousness, a nostalgia for the absolute the 20th century denies.

"The Finger of God"

On June 20, a schoolbus crashed into a train, killing 21 of the schoolchildren aboard. A committee set up to investigate the accident ruled that the driver had been overhasty. But according to Israel's Minister of the Interior, Rabbi Yitzhak Peretz of the right-wing religious Shas Party, it was an act of God. And not only did Rabbi Peretz know that it was an act of God, he also knew why God acted in this manner:

"On Monday, the council of Torah Sages organised a revival meeting in the courtyard of the Or-Hayim synagogue, in the wake of the bus disaster. The speeches of the orators pointed to a concensus: the deaths of the 22 victims of the accident came as a result of the desecration of the Sabbath in Petah Tikva." [Petah Tikva has been the site of a religious-secular confrontation over the operation of the Heyhal Cinema on Friday (Sabbath) nights.] The name of the Heyhal Cinema was not mentioned, but the message was clear.

Minister of the Interior Yitzhak Peretz declared: "In my role [as Minister of the Interior] I was in Petah Tikva after the disaster. The finger of God pointed to the place, the place in which the Sabbath and yeshiva students were trampled and spurned, and the Creator of the world [acted] and the agony of the Blessed One was made visible in order that the blind would see and learn" (*Kol Ha'ir*, June 21, 1985).

Of course, at present, only a minority of Israelis go along with the heavy-duty fundamentalism of Rabbi Peretz. However, that minority is powerful enough to enforce its will on the secular majority in regard to the realm of the permissable — covering everything from what one can eat to what one can do (on "the Sabbath") and what one can think.

But Shas's brand of fundamentalist politics does not have a monopoly on the religious consciousness racket. All the members of the Gush Emunim terrorist underground (now awaiting pardon) are, to a man, orthodox Jews. Moreover, according to testimony presented in court, candidates were chosen for their piety above all else.

Among other things, the underground is charged with plotting to blow up the Dome of the Rock.

"I saw that it was necessary to prepare for an operation which I refer to as the operation to purify the Temple Mount, the single holy site of the Jewish people, of the building on the mount, on the site of the holiest of holies, the building known as the 'Dome of the Rock.' That building has become a symbol and a beacon of the present consolidation, in this case Islamic, by way of the mount, by way of the centre of the mount, over the country as a whole. I also admit that I had the privilege to participate in cutting off the legs of a few murderers [the West Bank mayors]..."

So said Yehuda Etzion in court during his trial along with the other members of the Jewish terrorist underground. Etzion does not deny the acts attributed to him and his comrades, but he does deny that they were criminal acts. The problem, according to Etzion, is that the laws of the state and the dictates of his brand of Judaism do not always go hand in hand. Compelled to choose between the two, he chose to disobey the laws of the state.

Further on in his address, Etzion expresses amazement that he and his comrades are charged with criminal acts rather than with acting without government sanction.

After presenting a religious homily on the Temple Mount, Etzion concluded his testimony by recalling how the Israeli army captured the Temple Mount during the June 1967 war. "That was the beginning of the process to return the Mount to its position of being the central site that radiates its sanctity and power over the entire country and the entire nation. It was this goal I decided to serve in making the decision to prepare the operation. And I will continue to dedicate my life to this goal, albeit, perhaps not by the same means.

Nekuda, in whose June 24 issue Etzion's testimony appeared, is a journal published by the "Association for the Development of Settlement and Absorption in Judea, Samaria, the Gaza Strip, and the Jordan Valley." It is primarily an ideological journal whereip Gush Emunim ideologues try to give their religious fantasies a crypto-philosophic suit of clothes, replete with religious dogma and clerical jargon.

The journal is divided into the following sections: essays, settlement news, religious Zionism, viewpoints, documents, etc. Etzion's speech is printed as a "document." The two pages preceding it are taken up with the "viewpoint" of Noam Lavnat in an article entitled: **"The Moderate Approach."**

Lavnat's article revolves around the question of what should be done in the wake of the May 20 prisoner-exchange, which he describes as "sacrilege." He argues in favour of a campaign to expel the released prisoners from the occupied territories. "The goal," he writes, "is the expulsion of the released prisoners. The possible methods are: exit by choice, individual deportation following conviction, or a general expulsion by government decree. The last mentioned would be the ideal method," however, given the present circumstances, "by harassing and frightening the terrorist and his surroundings, by publishing his picture and personal data, by way of friendly chats and pressure on the *mukhtars* and the head of the *hamulas* [extended families] and actions which frighten the terrorist's neighbours and family, [we] can succeed in making them be perceived more in terms of a problem than as national heroes" (*Nekuda*, June 24).

Once again, the title of the above quoted article is "The Moderate Aproach."

"The Stench of the Ghetto"

The "essay" of the June 24 issue of *Nekuda* is by Elyakim Ha'etzni, one of the more obstreperous settlers living on the archipelego of settlements referred to in Zionist jargon as "Judea, Samaria, and the Gaza Strip" — otherwise known as the occupied territories.

Ha'etzni, writing in the wake of the prisoner-exchange, takes issue with those who are letting individuals know "that their lives and personal welfare take priority over the security interests of the nation," those who believe that "'Now' is more important than eternity, the present more important than the future, and that Dizengoff Street takes precedence over the Western Wall." As to who these culprits are, Ha'etzni makes no bones about it: they are the "leftists, who are undermining the morale of the nation and who are responsible for the stench of the ghetto spreading in our midst."

He goes on to say that "Zionism never guaranteed that individuals would not be harmed in the Zionist revolution, in the cruel process of establishing a state, in the war for its existence or in its fortification. The opposite is true. A fundamental tenet of Zionism is that only if the Jewish people finds many individuals willing to sacrifice themselves for the sake of the nation as a whole — will the nation as a whole survive."

The title of Ha'etzni's article is: "The Smell of the Ghetto is Spreading in our Midst." He writes: "The inner logic of the 'Peace Camp' (which Yasir Arafat describes as his 'internal forces') is pulling us back to the type of thinking, of feeling, of behaviour and value systems of the Diaspora and the ghetto. For instance, the decision to release murderers into our midst has the stamp of the ghetto written all over it."

Of course for Ha'etzni, "the ghetto" means the liberal-radical humanism of the European Jews in the late 19th and early 20th century. It is anathema to him, a "foreign creed of the West," which has nothing to do with the Jews living in the Land of Israel.

When it comes to economic policy, Ha'etzni's views are transparently fascist. Take the following, culled from the same article, as an example: "The economy of Israel is the economy of individuals who care more about themselves than the national economy. Billions of reserve dollars are leaving the state's purse and finding their way to the pockets of citizens of the state — from the whole to the individual. The "Welfare Now" economy has dictated [a policy] of keeping bankrupt factories operating on government subsidies in order to insure industrial 'peace now' for the political hacks, rather than demonstrations, threats, demagoguery and the loss of votes at election time."

Ha'etzni ends his article as follows: "Where is the leader who will return us — society, government, and state — to ourselves? Where is the man who will reestablish law, honour and security in our state?"

What more could a potential dictator ask for? Elyakim Ha'etzni, living in a ghetto on the West Bank, lashing out at the leftists — whom he accuses of "pulling us back to the ghetto" — and enjoying a standard of colonial life subsidised by the Israeli government, is not atypical of the settler mindset. God is on our side. Rightward Ho!

Although the fundamentalism of Gush Emunim and Shas is far from being identical, there do not appear to be many points of friction between the two. They work as political allies in the religious wing of the "nationalist" camp, which also includes the Likud, the Tehiya Party, and a host of religious lists. Moreover, if there is an ideological difference between them, it is over what form the *Halachic* State — to be established in the Land of Israel, replacing the mundane State of Israel — will take. Likewise, Rabbi Kahane's blueprint for an "Arabrein" Israel is the *Halacha* — or at least, his interpretation thereof.

Postscript

On July 1, the government voted on the emergency economic programme, but Minister Yitzhak Peretz did not vote. When the programme was brought before the Knesset, two members of Shas voted in favour of the government while their two counterparts abstained, as did the members of Morasha, Agudat Yisrael, and a member of the National Religious Party.

The reason: they wanted to protest the fact that the economic plan had been drafted during the Sabbath. If they had suspected that Minister of Finance Yitzhak Moda'i had taken part in the Sabbath desecration, they would have voted against the government, they wrote. ■

Nabil Anani
Quintessential Palestinian Artist

Palestinian village

by Baher al-Ashhab

Nabil Anani's obsession with Palestinian village-folk themes is overwhelming. No artist has produced such a repetitious magnitude of works on these themes.

"I wish I could get rid of all the paintings I have and start all over again; a new style, a new theme, a new anything except what I am doing now. But then, could I?" queried the 42-year-old Halhoul-born artist whose name has become synonymous with Palestinian art since he held his first exhibit in the early 1970s. The obsession is self-

Nabil Anani

inflicted however. And it has gained him wide support among art-lovers in the occupied territories, as well as among fellow Palestinian artists who elected him head of their League several months ago.

It is the Palestinian village woman that Anani is first and foremost obsessed with; her exotically embroidered *thowb*, her hand gestures as she points to the sky in thanks or despair, and the expression of anxiety on her face as she protectively engulfes her children with her dress and body so as they don't witness the atrocities of storm winds and army bulldozers flattening their father's olive groves.

"The Palestinian village woman is the focal point of our reality," noted the veteran painter. "She is the comforting mother, the battered wife and the persistent farmer. She is the admired heroine in the tragedy of our existence."

Indeed Anani is obsessed with this vision, for only five of the thirty-five paintings he exhibited at Jerusalem's Hakawati theatre July 6-14 dealt with other themes. In nearly thirty paintings, mostly done since his last exhibit in 1980, the Palestinian village woman is dominantly positioned at the centre, either observing or carrying out the activities that colourfully crowd Anani's large canvases. In others she is staring with wide eyes at the viewer as if she is exploring the various layers of his consciousness. The woman's face, as well as those of other figures of women and children in the paintings is one-dimensional with the sole exception of thick lips that are shut but seem about to explode with either a smile or a wail.

Anani divides the space around the central female figure into geometrical shapes, most often squares or ovals. In each shape he paints a figure or an activity in a highly romantic manner that sways between expressionism and realism and offers sincerity similar to child-art. In the work entitled *Popular Beliefs*, a village woman stands expressionless slightly off centre wearing a long head cover and a colourfully embroidered dress. A crescent, which also appears in many other paintings, hangs high above her right shoulder. On both sides of the painting five squares include an item of some mythical connotation: the hand and the eye thought to protect one from the envy of others, the pigeon and the red sun connoting peace and freedom, the heart and the arrow... etc. Despite the simplicity of theme and structure, the painting is aesthetically appealing. In another painting entitled *Belonging* the geometrical shapes are drawn on the woman's body. They include children playing about and carrying the Palestinian flag, young women carrying bamboo trays on which pigeons are peacefully sitting and a group of village cottages glued together in solidarity. The whole painting is engulfed in a line of little green, red, black and white squares; the colours found in most village embroidary as well as on the Palestinian flag.

The reference to nationalistic themes is direct, at least immediately recognisable to local residents. To outsiders, the reference may appear solemnly folkish, similar to tribal art in Africa, South America or the Caribbean Islands.

But it is to the local residents that Anani directs his efforts, he noted. He attempted to portray their reality, as in *Daily Happening* and *Memories of the Past;* their heritage and tradition as in *Every Maiden in the Village is Waiting;* and their political grievances as in *Massacres* and *Diaries;* and their unique landscapes as in *Jifna* and *Dir Gassanah*, both villages with picturesque settings.

Anani stresses that repetition of theme does not limit his artistic vision. Rather, he says, it "gives me the expertise and confidence of a trade specialist." In fact, repetition appears to do just that, in addition to giving Anani a distinct style that other local artists long for. Moreover, Anani shows progression in technique and complexity in composition, particularly in the the newer works in his exhibit. In the most recent two paintings, Anani used less variety of colour and fewer geometric shapes to portray equally impressive scenes, thus relying more on the general concept rather than the smaller parts.

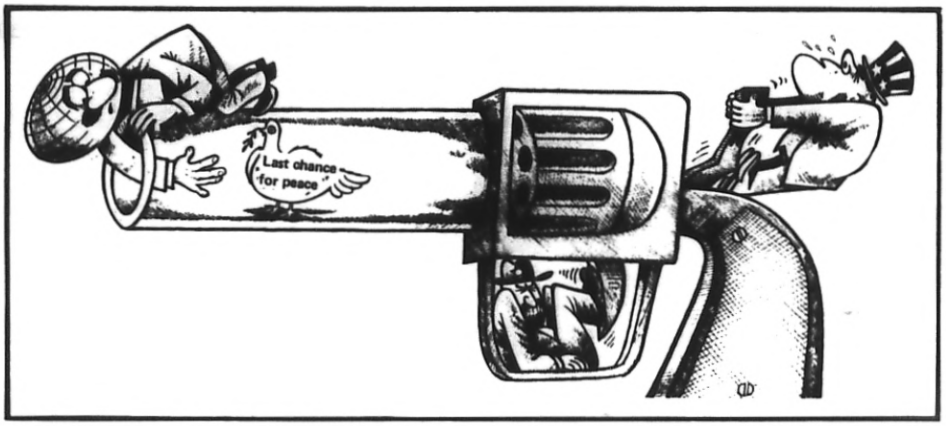
One disappointing aspect of Anani's work is a lack of dimensional depth except in village landscapes where his ability to convey depth is evident. According to Anani the one-dimensionality is intentional. "My paintings are not to be viewed as realist portrayals but as conceptual images." Depth, Anani argues, might destroy their effectiveness.

Furthermore, Anani draws predominantly on striking, unpleasant colours or colour combinations like muddy pink or purple, uneven orange or yellow often placed near each other or overlapping in a distracting manner. Except for these minor drawbacks, most of the paintings are sensational and interesting.

The high point of the exhibit, however, was the inclusion of 15 small crayon sketches by Anani's 9-year-old son Yazid who, judging from the steadiness of his lines, seems to be following in his father's footsteps. Not surprisingly, 12 of Yazid's sketches dealt with Palestinian women and village themes. ■

Every Maiden in the Village is Waiting

WINDOW ON THE ARAB PRESS



The fighting in Lebanon, prospects for the approaching meetings between a Jordanian-Palestinian delegation and US officials and the economic crisis in Israel were the main subjects in the local press this week.

Palestinian papers gave prominent coverage with photos and editorials to the continued unrest in Lebanon. The status of Palestinian refugee camps amidst discussions on their elimination was a source of concern.

Much attention was paid to the announcement that a list of 15 Palestinians had been given to the American administration for the joint delegation. The upcoming meeting with US envoy Richard Murphy was widely discussed. *Al Fajr* and *Al Quds* daily continued to support the meeting. *Al Sha'ab* appeared hesitant and *Al Mithaq* daily was strongly opposed to the proposed meeting.

On the economic front negotiations between Israeli government officials and the Histadrut [illegible] Federation received front page coverage, apparently reflecting Palestinian concerns about the outcome of these economic talks regarding wages and prices.

Insurance Allowances for Bearers of Jerusalem ID Cards

Under the present economic measures undertaken by the Israeli government, the Israeli Insurance Department added to the burden of Arab citizens and deprived them of any possible compensation. This department cut off the health insurance allowances of the Arab bearers of Jerusalem ID cards who live in Jerusalem suburbs, such as al-Ram and al-A'zarya.

We would like to remind this Israeli department that the Jewish settlers residing in the West Bank are still receiving these allowances. We would also like to tell this department that Arabs with Jerusalem ID cards were forced to live outside Jerusalem. We stand by these Arab citizens in their demands.

AL FAJR
July 11

The Air Raid

The Israeli air raid on the Palestinian camps in Tripoli comes in the context of the genocide waged against the Palestinian people and its nationalist forces. It comes at a time when intensive contacts and consultations are underway between the Salvation Front, representing the Palestinian people and the Lebanese National Forces and Syria. The parties to the American solutions believe that strengthening national relations will hinder the efforts of the Palestinian Right and Arab reactionaries. We believe that the raid aims at weakening the nationalist forces.

AL MITHAQ
July 11

The White House and the American Street

A public opinion poll conducted in the US shows that 66 percent of the Americans support the idea of an international peace conference attended by the Soviet Union and the PLO, 56 percent are for an independent Palestinian state, and 70 percent think the US should take a more even-handed attitude toward the Arab-Israeli conflict.

If anything, these results indicate that there is a big gap between the US administration and the American people. Arab policy-makers are required to get to the American people because any real change in the American attitudes towards the Arab-Israeli conflict does not come from the White House. It comes from the American street.

AL QUDS
July 12

Kuwait Explosions

Amid the dark reality that engulfs the Gulf area, Kuwait has always slightly distinguished itself. It was the first Gulf State to establish diplomatic relations with the USSR and other socialist countries. Kuwait is also the only Gulf State with an elected Parliament. It has a relatively free press. Therefore the two explosions that took place in Kuwait yesterday are an attempt to strike the Kuwait experience and lead to oppressive measures there. The blasts will also cause damage to the nationalist forces in Kuwait.

AL SHA'AB
Fuly 13

The Palestinian People Alone May Choose Its Representatives

Israel is still trying to pass empty solutions to the Palestinian problem despite its previous failures. Had Israel been really interested in a just solution, it would have recognized the PLO as the sole representative of the Palestinian people, and recognized this people's right to self-determination and an independent state. No just peace can be achieved without the participation of Palestinian representatives in any negotiations within the framework of the PLO. It is nonsense to say that 'the West Bank and Gaza Strip mayors may represent the residents of the occupied territories in any future political talks, provided that they have the interest of these residents before anything else, and that they care nothing for the stands of Arab leaders or Yasir Arafat.'

The least that could be said about such a statement is that it is a flagrant interference in the affairs of a fully-aware people who have the right to choose their own representatives. Once more we emphasize that any solution not based on sound foundations will collapse.

AL FAJR
July 13

Will the 'Salvation Front' Realise That?

The 'Salvation Front' is living in a contradictory situation. On one hand, it is talking about rebuilding the Palestinian camps in Beirut. On the other hand, it opposes the Beirut Municipal Council which only talks about Syrian bulldozers that are clearing the area of debris to give it a 'civilised appearance.'

The Front should realise that the Syrian regime is the one which destroyed Sabra, Shatila and Burj el-Barajneh. It spread the rumour about rebuilding the camps to absorb the wrath of the people. The Front is busy now quarrelling with the Beirut Municipal Council which objects to rebuilding the camps. Meanwhile the conspiracy has moved to the Sidon camps to complete the Syrian conspiracy against the Palestinian presence in Lebanon.

Will the Front realise what it is doing and will it respond to the call for national dialogue?

AL FAJR
July 15

London and the Joint Delegation

Despite the depth of the British Foreign Ministry's expertise on Middle East Affairs, the British government has not decided yet to receive the Jordanian-Palestinian joint delegation. The whole world knows very well the British role in shaping the political map of the Middle East. We are not trying today to blame the British policy-makers. But we wonder why the British government is taking this attitude toward the joint delegation.

There is no doubt that the British policy-makers realise that a just and balanced peace in the Middle East cannot be achieved only by holding meetings between Israeli officials and Arab rulers. The British government has to acknowledge the fact that the PLO is an essential party to the peace process. The British government has to play a more active role on the European stage.

The refusal of the British government to receive the joint delegation is an unsound basis for British policy in the Middle East. Should the British government set any preconditions, this would be a hinderance to the peace process.

AL QUDS
July 16

Press conference at American Colony Hotel/AO photo.

Nairobi

Continued from page 1

movement, and travel." They said the restrictions are often in the form of town arrests, administrative detentions and travel bans. Dyab, an ex-prisoner from Ramallah who served two different terms in Israeli jails, spoke about her travel restriction. "The Israeli authorities put distinct stamps on my ID card barring me from travelling abroad," she said. "This meant I was unable to continue my studies in Beirut or contact my family abroad," she added. "What I want to stress is that I feel the Israelis have punished me twice. I want to tell our world sisters in Nairobi about these measures. We Palestinian women must gain our freedom."

Zahira Kamal also spoke about the impact of town arrest on her life. "For five years I have been unable to move freely in the occupied territories." She also spoke about the legislation on military town arrest orders that the Israelis have issued since 1967. These laws are based on the 1945 British Emergency Regulations and "they are intended to deprive local residents of their political rights," she said.

Amal Wahdan also spoke about her efforts to travel abroad and described how her *laissez passer* was denied.

The women sent a six-page statement to the UN Conference in Nairobi explaining their position. The statement said, in part: "In view of the racist policies of the Jewish State, and in the absence of a Palestinian National State, the role of the Palestinian Woman has proved decisive in development as the basis for steadfastness in the face of the liquidation of the cause of our people, and for continuing the struggle to end occupation and to exercise the right to self-determination and the establishment of an independent Palestinian State under the leadership of the PLO, the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people.

We call upon this World Congress of Women to become a Congress of Solidarity with the revolutionary struggle of our people."

Samiha Khalil did not attend the press conference, but she has been canvassing support from UN officials. Khalil met UN representatives in Jerusalem last week and notified them that she had made all the necessary preparations to travel and that she only needed a *laissez passer*. She had even bought plane tickets, she said. But the UN officials were unable to convince the Israelis to change their minds. Khalil was officially invited to attend the UN conference in Nairobi as a Resource Person.

Only five Palestinian women from the occupied territories managed to reach Nairobi.

THE COURAGE TO CARE

Over half of the four million Palestinians are registered refugees, with as many as 764,000 still living in 61 refugee camps dispersed throughout the Middle East.

Political issues aside, these forgotten, homeless, and dispossessed Palestinians—men, women and children, need your urgent support.

United Palestinian Appeal, Inc. is taking the lead in helping to alleviate the suffering and pain of these people by providing them with adequate health care, housing, education and other social and humanitarian services.

We appeal to you to help us achieve these goals. Your investment, no matter how modest, in allaying human suffering, is never too little or too late.

You Can Make A Difference

Send your tax-deductible contributions to:
United Palestinian Appeal, Inc. • 2100 M St., NW, Suite 409
Washington, DC 20037 • (202) 659-5007

UPA is a non-political, non-sectarian, American-based, tax-exempt charitable organization established under 1986 to extend humanitarian relief to the Palestinians in the occupied territories and the diaspora.

Graduates Face Tough Job-Hunt

Bethlehem U. Graduates Class of 1985

Three hundred and thirty eight students received BAs and other degrees at Bethlehem University's ninth commencement July 13. Over 1500 of the graduates' relatives took part in the open air ceremony, which was also attended by many other university guests. Music accompanied the entry of the graduates processions from an indoor hall to the ceremony grounds outside in the university yards. Musa Darwish, Director of Public Relations, welcomed the guests. Graduates then sang the university song and the valedictorian, Sister Rene' Mousa, delivered a short speech in Arabic and English.

Dr Anton Sansour, the Executive Vice President of the university and Head of the Higher Council of Education in the West Bank, stressed in his speech the need for coordination among the universities in the occupied territories. Sansour also emphasised the necessity of respecting freedom of thought and discussions and called upon all student factions to observe this and to refrain from using violence. "Despite the existence of occupation," he said, "our universities have become an oasis of democracy and we should preserve that and protect them."

Father Michel Sabbah, President of Bethlehem University, presented certificates to the graduates.

Bethlehem University, which has a student body of 1500, was the second university to be established in the occupied territories in 1973. It now has six faculties: Humanities, Sciences, Business Administration, Nursing, Education, and Hotel Management. The last is the only faculty in the occupied territories that graduates trained Hoteliers and travel agents. In 1981, the university was recognised and accepted as a full member of the union of Arab Universities. The 338 Bethlehem graduates will join the ranks of graduates in the occupied territories who face tough job-hunting prospects given rising unemployment in the area. A study issued in May by the International Labour Organisation (ILO) estimated that unemployment in the West Bank has now reached between 30-50 percent.

In an interview with *Al Fajr*, Sansour said that it may soon be necessary to limit the number of students enrolled in certain faculties, particularly humanities, in the occupied territories. Such a step would only be done through coordination among all the universities, Sansour added that the Higher Council of Education in the West Bank has decided not to approve any request to initiate new faculties unless they are desperately needed.

Peres

Continued from page 1

July 17 that the Americans forwarded the list out of sense of "fairness."

When the list arrived, the Israeli inner cabinet met and decided to reject it out of hand. Shamir told reporters that he was "speaking on behalf of the government" in rejecting the list of names.

Israeli officials, including Premier Peres, appeared surprised by the fact that none of the Palestinians whose names have been widely mentioned in recent weeks were on the list. The night before the names were released Peres met with Bethlehem mayor Elias Freij and the head of the Najah University's board of trustees Hikmat al-Masri at his home from 9:00 pm to 12:30. According to Freij, Peres didn't know who was on the list at the time but "showed support for the idea of meeting a joint Jordanian-Palestinian delegation." Freij told *Al Fajr* that he considers the PLO as the representative of the Palestinians and that he supports any list the PLO draws up. Freij's name was widely circulated in local Arabic papers as one of a group of local pro-Jordanians who are trying to form a "peace lobby" to support the ongoing Jordanian-Palestinian *rapprochement*. Freij has denied the reports.

Israeli newspapers appeared to commend the Palestinian selection strategy. *The Jerusalem Post* wrote, *inter alia:* "Arafat appears to have selected men the US cannot refuse to meet, Israel cannot really pressure, and the Jordanians and Palestinians can hardly reject." *The Post* report also pointed out "that the Palestinians from the occupied territories had met US envoy Richard Murphy and that both would be credible representatives."

Palestinian leaders in the occupied territories refused to comment on the list until it is officially confirmed. Mahmoud Ya'ish, owner of the Arabic daily *Al Sha'ab*, told *Al Fajr* he would not comment until the PLO had made an official announcement. Abu Rahmeh whose name was among those on the list, told *Al Fajr* that Palestinians have never attempted this tactic. "We should try it and see where it gets us," he said. Abu Rahmeh, however, was sceptical that any progress would be made unless the international community and the US in particular were willing to pressure the Israelis.

Al Fajr's Hanna Siniora said that he has not been officially asked to take part in the delegation, but that if called upon he would agree. The Jerusalem-born Siniora, 40, studied pharmacology in India and the US. He recently met US envoy Richard Murphy in East Jerusalem along with Abu Rahmeh and 28 other Palestinians. Siniora has also met numerous Israeli individuals and groups to discuss the situation in the occupied territories and Palestinian aspirations for peace. Siniora told journalists after the news was made public that if given the opportunity, he would try to foster greater understanding between the US and the PLO. He said that so far the Israelis have not hit him with any travel restrictions and he hopes the situation will stay that way. When asked his opinion on the optimal venue for peace negotiations, he called for an international conference which all parties to the conflict would attend.

Al Mithaq Arabic daily, which opposes Arafat's political line, attacked the whole peace initiative which it labelled a "defeatist and surrenderist policy." The Communist *Al Tali'h* Arabic weekly attacked the initiative in milder terms. "The important thing is that the list was drawn up in accordance with American and Israeli conditions that delegates not be well-known PLO figures or members of the PLO Executive Commitee."

The proposal that the joint Palestinian-Jordanian delegation meet with US officials emerged during Jordanian King Hussein's meeting with US President Reagan in May, when US officials agreed to the idea. Hussein presented a four-stage plan based on the joint Jordanian-Palestinian agreement signed in Amman February 11. In the first stage, US officials will meet the Jordanian-Palestinian delegation. The US would then announce its acceptance of the Palestinians right to self-determination. This would be followed by the PLO accepting UN resolution 242 and then direct negotiations with Israel in the context of international conference. Participants in the conference would include a joint PLO-Jordan delegation, other Arab countries, Israel, and permanent members of the UN. Richard Murphy, Assistant US Secretary of State for Near East Affairs, is expected to arrive in the area later this month to meet the joint Palestinian-Jordanian delegation.

WEEKLY REVIEW

Forum on settler violence held at Orient House./AO photo.

July 10, 1985

KACH LEAFLETS URGE TOURISTS TO BOYCOTT ARAB BAZAAR

Three members of the racist Kach movement were arrested in the Old City of Jerusalem for handing out leaflets urging tourists not to buy from Palestinian merchants in the bazaar. Israel Radio said the three, two men and a woman, were charged with incitement and were being held in custody.

ARMY VEHICLE FIREBOMBED IN HEBRON

A petrol bomb was tossed at a military patrol as it drove near the military government building in Hebron. No one was hurt and no damage was done. Israel Radio said soldiers chased the attacker and were able to apprehend him.

BOMB EXPLODES NEAR HAIFA COURT

A bomb exploded outside the district courthouse in Haifa. Police closed off part of the city. No one was injured in the blast, the second at the courthouse in less than two months. Several Arab passersby were rounded up for questioning.

GAZA'S POOR FAMILIES REQUEST AID

Several poor families from refugee camps in the Gaza Strip appealed to the Executive Committee of the Refugees' Conference in the Gaza Strip for aid to overcome the hardships of life.

NABLUS BOY, 15, GETS 9 YEARS

For hoisting the Palestinian flag, throwing petrol bombs at military vehicles and possession of ammunition, 15-year-old Mahmoud Khamis Hanini of Beit Furik in the Nablus district was sentenced to 9 years in prison by an Israeli military court in Nablus. His cousin, Mahmoud Mohammed Hanini, 14, was sentenced by the same court to 2 months imprisonment and a IS300,000 fine on security charges. He decided not to pay the fine and instead serve a prison term.

8 YEARS FOR PETROL BOMB

An Israeli military court in Ramallah sentenced Ahmad Abd al-Razek Abu Kheir to 8 years in prison and 5 years suspended on charges of hurling petrol bombs at an Israeli vehicle and the police post in Arroub refugee camp. Also sentenced on identical charges was Mohammed Ibrahim Abu Rayya, who was given a 3 year prison sentence. The two are residents of Arroub.

FEWER MUSLIMS REGISTER FOR HAJ

There has been a noticeable decrease in the number of Muslims who have registered for the annual pilgrimage to Mecca this year. A total of 5400 Muslims from the West Bank, Gaza Strip and Israel have already registered to travel to Saudi Arabia in September for the *Haj*.

July 11, 1985

JORDAN SAYS BEIRUT-BOUND BLANKETS SEIZED

Jordan announced that 10,000 blankets it had donated for Palestinians made homeless by recent fighting in Beirut refugee camps had been seized by Damascus-backed Palestinian dissidents. A Labour Ministry statement said the blankets, sent under the auspices of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), were intercepted by armed men in Lebanon July 6.

"They unloaded the blankets and issued the truck drivers receipts bearing stamps of the so-called Salvation Front," it said. A Ministry spokesperson said the ICRC was trying to recover the blankets.

TWO MORE BOMBS IN ISRAELI TOWNS

Bombs exploded in two Israeli towns, but police said there were no casualties. One blast was in the central square of Hadera, midway between Tel Aviv and Haifa. The other was at the southern resort town of Asqalan on the Mediterranean coast. The bomb had been placed near the swimming pool of the King Saul Hotel. In both cases police rounded up scores of Arab youths for questioning.

PETROL BOMBS LOBBED AT ARMY CARS IN GAZA

A petrol bomb was thrown at an Israeli military vehicle as it drove on a road west of Khan Younis in the Gaza Strip. A large force of soldiers and border police sealed off the area and began a search. No arrests were reported.

Two petrol bombs were hurled at army jeeps in Jabalya and al-Shate' refugee camps in the Gaza Strip. Israel Radio reported no casualties or damages in either incident.

MEMORIAL CEREMONY FOR QALANDYA STUDENT

A memorial ceremony was held at the Qalandya Vocational Training Centre to commemorate the death of Tawfiq Rashad Sawalmeh, a student who was knifed to death during a scuffle between rival student factions on campus about two months ago. The gathering, attended by hundreds of students, was organised by the Students Youth Movement. Speakers emphasised the importance of achieving national unity under the Palestinian people's sole and legitimate representative, the PLO.

REQUEST TO REOPEN ROOMS BLOCKED IN 1983 REJECTED

Israeli military authorities rejected a request from lawyer Walid Fahoum to allow the reopening of 4 rooms in houses belonging to youths from the village of Arraba who were charged with security offences. The authorities sealed the rooms in 1983, following the detention of Kamal Mohammed Hamdan, Ra'ed Abbas and Abd al-Ghani Attari. The three were sentenced to prison terms ranging from 4 to 7 years.

2 NUSSEIRAT MEN JAILED FOR MEMBERSHIP

An Israeli military court in Gaza sentenced Hussein Abu Karesh, 27, from Nusseirat refugee camp in the Gaza Strip, to 4 years in jail and a similar suspended sentence for membership in a Palestinian organisation, handing out (anti-Israeli) pamphlets, launching a grenade attack and attempting to infiltrate the Egyptian border.

Abd al-Kader Yunis, 21, also from Nusseirat, was sentenced to 5 years in jail and a similar suspended sentence by the same court on identical charges.

July 12, 1985

GAZA EX-PRISONER TO FACE DEPORTATION

Freed prisoner Khalil Abd al-Hamid Salameh was notified by the Red Cross office in Gaza of the Israeli authorities' decision to deport him from the country. Salameh, who was sentenced in 1968 to 25 years imprisonment on security charges, was released in the May 20 prisoner-exchange between Israel and the PFLP-GC. He was asked to name the destination he prefers.

July 13, 1985

PETROL BOMB AT COLLABORATOR

Unidentified persons threw a petrol bomb at a Rafah resident as he was leaving his home. Israel Radio reported that the man is suspected of collaborating with Israeli authorities.

OFRA SETTLERS INTIMIDATE VILLAGERS

Residents of the town of Silwad, east of Ramallah, lodged a complaint with Israeli military authorities against recurrent provocations from Jewish settlers from the nearby Ofra settlement. One of the residents said armed settlers stopped his car outside the village July 12 and searched it thoroughly. He was later allowed to leave. Another resident who refused to stop at a settler checkpoint was shot at and forced to stop

SETTLER'S CAR AMBUSHED

A barrage of automatic gunfire was unleashed at a settler's car as it passed near Hebron, Israel Radio reported. No one was hurt. Troops sealed off the area and began a search.

JNEID PRISONERS ON HUNGER-STRIKE

Palestinian prisoners at Jneid prison near Nablus began a hunger-strike to protest harsh conditions in the prison. The hunger-strikers sent a message containing their demands to the prison administration. The demands include: amelioration of conditions and treatment of prisoners, permission for listening to radio and reading daily newspapers, and allowing inmates to walk in the prison yard twice a day instead of once.

Graduate of the Red Crescent Society in Ramallah receiving diploma./AO photo.

July 14, 1985

MILITARY VEHICLE ATTACKED

A petrol bomb was hurled at an Israeli army vehicle as it passed near the town of Khan Younis in the Gaza Strip. No injuries or damages were reported. Troops scoured the area.

TRAVEL BAN LIFTED

A travel ban imposed on residents of the Nusseirat and al-Maghazi refugee camps in the Gaza Strip since May 5 has been lifted. Residents of a third refugee camp, al-Bureij, are still forbidden to leave the occupied territories.

NEW WB HEALTH DEPARTMENT DIRECTOR

Dr Said Shahin, director of the Health Department in Nablus, has been appointed as director of the General Health Department in the West Bank. He will succeed Dr Hussein Obeid, who was sacked by Israeli authorities two years ago because of his position on the collective poisoning of school children in the West Bank.

SUMMER VISITORS

Some 10,000 summer visitors arrived in the occupied territories via the Damyeh and Allenby Bridges last week, Israel Radio reported.

2 NABLUS YOUTHS JAILED FOR STONES

An Israeli military court in Nablus sentenced Bilal Mohammed Salameh, 18, of Rafidya in Nablus, to 21 days in prison and a IS40,000 fine on charges of hurling stones at Israeli vehicles. Ahmad Shaker Abd al-Malek, 15, from al-Fara'a refu- camp, was sentenced by the court to four months jail on the same charges.

GAZA STUDENTS SIT FOR LEBANESE U. EXAMS IN EGYPT

Egyptian authorities have permitted students from Rafah in the Gaza Strip, who study in the Arab University of Beirut by correspondence, to travel to Egypt to take exams. The exams are to be held in Alexandria on July 17.

July 15, 1985

NEW SETTLEMENT NEAR RAMALLAH

Preparations are underway to establish a new settlement on a 700-dunum plot in the village of al-Midya in the Ramallah district. The Israeli Dekel Company is carrying out the construction work in spite of a Ramallah District Court's order to halt.

A number of villagers recently received instructions from the Israeli Ministry of Agriculture ordering them to remove olive trees from their lands on the pretext that these lands are "state property." They were given a period of one month to appeal.

MOLOTOV IN GAZA

A molotov cocktail was tossed at an Israeli army vehicle as it drove on the eastern road in Gaza. No injuries or damages were reported.

GAZA PRISONER KILLED

A detainee at Gaza prison was fatally stabbed by 3 of his fellow inmates, Israel Radio reported. Ahmad Zaki Hassan Baker, was rushed to Asqalan hospital where he was pronounced dead.

DHEISHEH YOUTH GETS HEAVY FINE

An Israeli military court in Ramallah sentenced Uthman Abd al-Aziz from Dheisheh refugee camp to 8 months suspended and a IS500,000 fine on security charges.

EX-PRISONER BANNED FROM TRAVEL

The Israeli Interior Ministry has banned freed prisoner Ala' al-Din al-Bazian of Jerusalem from leaving the country for one year. Bazian was critically wounded in the eyes in an explosion in 1979 and is seeking surgery overseas.

Families of the ninth graduating class of Bethlehem University./AO photo.

BZU TO OPEN NEW LIBRARY

Bir Zeit University has sent official invitations to dozens of residents and national institutions to attend the ceremony it will hold July 19 to inaugurate the Yusef Ghanem Library, which is one of the most modern and extensive libraries in the occupied territories.

JALAZON RESIDENTS STAGE STRIKE AT UNRWA

Residents of Jalazon refugee camp near Ramallah picketed the offices of UNRWA in Ramallah and demanded that the agency deliver their food rations, which they had not received for the past four months.

July 16, 1985

"LOBBY" REPORT DENIED

Bethlehem Mayor Elias Freij denied a report in the Israeli daily *Al Hamishmar* that he had attended a meeting of local Palestinian notables aimed at forming a "political lobby" in the occupied territories. The paper reported that a number of leading Palestinian political figures, including Freij, Rashad al-Shawwa, Issam Anani and Uthman al-Hallaq met recently to discuss the issue.

HEBRON UNIONIST GETS TOWN-ARREST

Unionist Mahmoud Zayyadeh of Hebron was served with a 6 month town-arrest order by Israeli military authorities. The order forbids Zayyadeh to leave Hebron without obtaining special permission. He is also required to report daily at the military governorate.

EX-PRISONER TO STAND TRIAL

Ahmad Abu Tahhan, a former security prisoner released in the May 20 prisoner-exchange between Israel and the PFLP-GC, will stand trial on charges of assaulting border policemen, an Israeli military court in Gaza ruled. Tahan, who is a resident of Jabalya refugee camp in the Gaza Strip, has been held in detention since June 17.

PETROL BOMB

A petrol bomb was thrown last night at an Israeli vehicle as it drove through the village of al-Azariyeh on its way to the Ma'aleh Adumim settlement, Israel Radio reported. The bomb failed to explode and the police have begun an investigation, the radio report said.

FARMERS PROTEST MARKETING BAN

Farmers from the town of Halhoul in the Hebron area are considering legal action against the Israeli Council for Vegetables and Fruits because of the ban it has imposed on the marketing of their products in Israeli markets. The farmers say the ban has caused them heavy losses.

FREIJ RECEIVES CHICAGO MAYOR

Bethlehem Mayor Elias Freij received Chicago Mayor Harold Washington, who is currently visiting the country, and discussed the *status quo* in the occupied territories and the Middle East.

ECONOMIC SYMPOSIUM

A symposium entitled "The Israeli economic crisis and its impact on the occupied territories" was held at an-Najah University in Nablus. Speakers at the symposium, organised by the university's Cultural Committee, included Drs Atef Alawneh and Qassem Jawdeh.

Civil Administration

Continued from pp. 8&9

ians who get angiography treatment at Israeli hospitals, for example, have to pay JD200 regardless.

The report's claim that two cardiology clinics were opened in Ramallah drew the biggest laugh. Doctors told *Al Fajr* that these clinics do not have basic cardiological equipment, not even an EKG machine.

Electricity: An official from the Arab Jerusalem Electricity Company (JEC) responded to the report's passing mention of the JEC which depicts it as an institution that repeatedly violated the law by building two substations without permission and "hundreds of illegal electrical poles." The JEC official told *Al Fajr* the company always submits applications through the proper channels to erect electrical poles and waits two months for a reply. If none arrives, they erect the poles. The official told *Al Fajr*, "The Israelis should be ashamed of themselves for boasting about destroying attempts to extend electricity."

The official also noted that the report says nothing about obstacles the JEC faces when they apply for new equipment and permits to expand services. The Arab company, which operates on a 50-year concession granted during the British Mandate, provides electricity to the Jerusalem, Ramallah, Jericho and Bethlehem districts. As such, it has cornered a substantial share of the market the Israeli National Company would like to have — including Jewish settlements in the concession area.

Tourism: As a result of the increase in tourism to Israel, and considering that most of the tourists to the Holy Land are Christians, Bethlehem has flourished in the years of occupation. Souvenir shops have multiplied and the tourism business in general has rocketed. To a certain extent Bethlehem's gains have not been proportionately reflected in East Jerusalem. Arab Jerusalemites were not allowed to build hotels, although dozens of new hotels have sprung up in West Jerusalem. Most of all, Palestinians in the tourism business point out that they are increasingly being edged out of all aspects of the business except souvenir selling. Licenced Palestinian guides who died, retired or left have not been replaced. In fact, except for one man from the Bethlehem area the Israelis have not issued a new licence to any Palestinian guide in 18 years.

Only casual or uninformed observers will be taken in by the snappy looking report that tries to paint a rosy picture of Israeli occupation. Although the report undoubtedly contains much useful information, it would be wise to double-check facts and to read carefully between the lines before drawing conclusions. The main conclusion to be drawn is that no matter how prettily it's presented, military occupation is inherently ugly. ■

Copies of the Civil Administration report are available by request from the Civil Administration headquarters in Beit El, West Bank, to institutions and journalists — but not to individuals.

Tourist Handicrafts: An Age - Old Palestinian Trade

by Awad Abdel Fattah

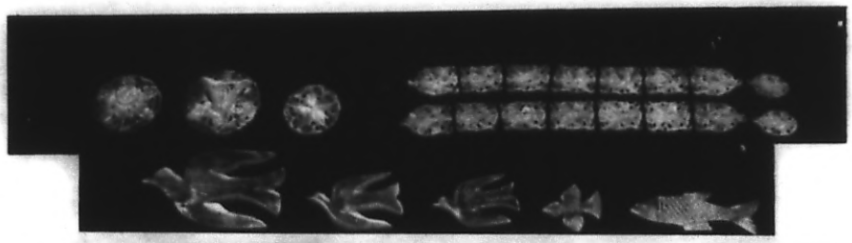
On July 4, a four-day bazaar of handicrafts for tourists, the first of its kind in Palestine, opened at the centre of the Union of Tourist Crafts and Souvenir Shop Workers in Bethlehem. The purpose of this bazaar was not commercial, rather it was aimed at preserving the tourist handicrafts which the owners consider part of the national Palestinian heritage, and which are now in danger of extinction.

The bazaar was quite small, but it included different kinds of gifts in a variety of shapes made of shells, olive wood and clay. Union leaders explained that this is only a beginning. They want to develop it next year to reach almost every Palestinian who remains "ignorant of this aspect of our heritage."

The tradition of making handicrafts for tourists is old in Palestine, but it is concentrated in the Bethlehem, Jerusalem and Hebron areas. Bethlehem has become the most famous market of tourist handicrafts for religious reasons. Bethlehem's handmade gifts have reached most parts of the world through foreign tourists who continue to flock to Palestine.

Shortly before the bazaar opened, the union held a lecture on the history and importance of tourist handicrafts at the union centre. The lecturer, himself a long-time craftsman, had studied the history of the trade. His name was Nassim Hilal. He sits on the union's administrative board and heads the Orthodox Cultural Club in Beit Sahour, less than two kilometres from Bethlehem.

According to Hilal, the tourist handicraft trade was brought to Palestine in the eleventh century by the Crusaders, specifically the Italians, during their invasion. The craft was first taught to Palestinians in Bethlehem and has been passed down from father to son since then. "One of the reasons these handicrafts have flourished is the presence of the three religions in Palestine. In particular, the fact that Bethlehem is the place of Christ's birth." He explained that for the most part the crafts are miniature sized replicas of religious places and prophets and that is why tourists buy them as gifts. With time, the craft has become an inherited trade and the products have come to reflect geographical, archeological, and religious sites, and even traditional dress in Palestine. "Therefore we consider this craft," Nassim says, "a national craft 100 percent." Only the shells are imported from outside.



(Top) Mother-of-pearl bracelets, brooches and pendants. (Below) Popular olive wood artifacts.

The Development of the Craft

Tourist gifts were originally entirely handmade, and they continued to be so until 1955. "I myself started when everything was still made by hand only," Hilal said. According to a British study referred to in *The 1936 Revolt* by the Palestinian writer Ghassan Kanafani, tourist handicrafts represented 14 percent of total British export from the country during the British Mandate in Palestine. In those days, craftsmen used a small saw and a rasp to carve and they often designed the shape as the client requested. Landmarks of Palestine, however, were their favourite subject matter. The most popular shapes were pictures of Christ, the Dome of the Rock, crosses, other holy sites, Palestinian women with traditional dresses, and camels. The craftsmen also made gifts out of shells merely for beauty, like rosaries and earrings.

The person who works in this trade must have artistic skill. Before 1955, Palestinians inherited knowledge of the craft from their fathers and grandfathers, but later those who wished to learn had to pay experienced craftsmen to teach them the trade.

In the 1950s, the craftsmen began to use olive wood, and this gave the work a new distinctive quality because Palestinian olive wood has a special colour and texture. Also in the same period, electric machines were introduced and consequently production doubled to meet the growing demand for the handicrafts.

Danger of Extinction

The tourist handicraft trade started to face difficulties after the Israeli occupation of the West Bank and Gaza Strip in 1967. "The craft," said Gabir Shomali, member of the Union's administrative board, "is now facing the danger of extinction." He explained that many craftsmen gave up their trade and went to work in Israeli factories after 1967. Besides this, political instability in the Middle East, which was aggravated as a result of the 1967 war, caused a sharp drop in the number of tourists visiting Palestine. Hilal said that whereas there were 3000 tourist handicraft workers before 1967, the number dropped to only 400 after the war. He added that the heavy Israeli taxes levied on the owners of craft workshops, estimated at millions of shekels, have also caused dozens of workshops to close down and left many workers in the trade no choice but to seek other jobs or to remain unemployed.

Craftsmen also complain about the absence of a strong cooperative society which could organise prices, marketing and trade relations. In 1981, the Cooperative Society for Marketing Tourist Crafts was established in Bethlehem. But the problem is that this society doesn't have the necessary capital to operate efficiently because it doesn't receive any financial backing, and this is why it has not been able to do very much for the trade. "It can't pay the workshop owners on the spot," Hilal told *Al Fajr*. The owner has to wait for weeks and sometimes months after he submits his products to the society until his products are sold. These products are sold mainly to local merchants, and only small quantities are marketed abroad.

Despite these difficulties, the owners of tourist handicraft workshops still stick by their trade, inherited from their fathers and their grandfathers before them, which has become an integral and important part of Palestinian culture. ■